THE

BANDE MATARAM

A Monthly Organ of Indian Independence

« Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence. »
(*Gautama Buddha*).

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OURSELVES

We owe no apology to the world in general and to the Indian people in particular for appearing before them. In fact, we regret that we could not begin our work earlier in the year. Ever since the suppression of the famous journal, « The Bande Mataram », in India, the need of a similar paper, conducted on advanced lines, has been felt among all circles of Indian Nationalists. The tyranny of the British Government has rendered it impossible to preach our principles through the Press from within our own country. A grim silence reigns throughout the length and breadth of India — the mighty, portentous silence of a nation fretting at the chains that it fain would rend asunder. It is the calm before the storm. The voice of Truth and Freedom has been hushed on account of the brute-force possessed by our enemies. Our writers have been imprisoned: our presses have been seized: our journals have been suppressed with a heavy hand. But we believe that the tyrants have not succeeded in their efforts to destroy our movement. We hold that Nationalism is still living and we issue this journal with the object of continuing, commemorating and consolidating the work that was inaugurated by that redoubtable champion of Indian freedom, « The Bande Mataram » of Calcutta. It is true that the scene of action has been changed and the workers are not the same. But men may come and men may go: Nationalism is greater than any men whom she calls to her service. The glorious campaign against foreign oppression, which was initiated by our brave and wise leaders in Bengal through the medium of the Bande Mataram, shall be carried on with equal vigour and persistency by us at present. Our message will be still more effective as it comes from afar; it is the appeal of exiles to their countrymen; it is the voice of those who know what it is to be deprived of the pleasures and dear associations of their Motherland on account of the presence of the foreigner in the country.

Every great principle must have an organ for its defence and exposition, or it will perish. Time effaces from the memory of men the most important social truths, unless some means be found for giving constant expression to them. For this reason, churches have been established: feasts, fasts and festivals have been instituted: wandering preachers have been enlisted. And this universal principle has led us to start this magazine for the service of the Indian people in particular and the whole of humanity in general. Truth must be proclaimed, fearlessly and unequivocally. We will not hide our light under a bushel. And we hope that our magazine will be come a centre of light and life for the regeneration of our people.

We shall preach the doctrines that are the universal property of the civilised world. Our programme has nothing strange or whimsical about it. Our ideas are accepted as sound in all countries. They form the basis of society throughout the modern world of thought and action. We shall not employ our intellect in the thankless task of drawing fine distinctions or adopting specious lines of argument for the purpose of appearing other than what we are. We are simple honest folk, who know how to call a spade a spade, and we are so stupid that we cannot really palter with Truth. From our retreat in a free and civilised country, we shall speak out our mind without fear or anxiety. Exile has its privileges: it is the price paid for the right of preaching the truth as it appears to us. We do not deal in political casuistry mingled with erroneous philosophy. We do not look before and after when we pen our passion-laden, message-bearing words. We pay homage only to our conscience and defy all the governments of the world to make us deviate a hair's breadth from the path of Duty and Righteousness.

What, then, are the ideas that we wish to impress on the minds of our people? What is our *policy*, as it is called? Alas! we have no policy, if we understand by that word a line of conduct dictated by false expediency and low cunning.

But we hold that we ought to bring home to the minds of the Indian people the great and universal truths which are known to every schoolboy in Europe. We bring back to them the wisdom of their ancestors, who established free states and developed a wonderful civilisation. Here then is our creed, our confession of faith.

(1) We hold it as a selfevident truth that every country should govern itself. Foreign rule destroys the physical, intellectual and moral faculties of a people and reduces them to the level of brutes.

(2) We hold that an enslaved people must pass through three stages before it can again establish itself as a member of the comity of nations. Every race that has lost the control of its affairs must be suffering from some terrible moral and mental weakness. Foreign rule is a symptom of social decay and disorder, as fever is a symptom of internal derangement within the human system. Hence the first stage in the struggle for freedom is that of

(A) *Moral and Intellectual Preparation*. During this period, the workers must elevate the character of the people and instruct them

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in the principles that govern an efficient social organism. The heart of the craven people must be purified, the instincts of selfishness and avarice must be destroyed, the indifference to higher interests must be cut at the root. The spirit of the slave must disappear before slavery can be ended. And a knowledge of history, politics and sociology must be imparted to the nation, so that it may realise its condition and appreciate its duties. In a word, Virtue and Wisdom must be supplied to the feeble and degraded social system in an abundant measure. Virtue and Wisdom are the sustaining forces of society and if a nation is enslaved, it must be sadly wanting in these elements of social strength.

Literature, bands of preachers, schools, demonstrations, passive suffering, and other devices may be employed for the furtherance of this part of the work. The future of the movement depends on the thoroughness with which this fundamental preparation has been carried out. This first stage is the basis of the edifice of Liberty, which cannot be raised on inadequate foundations.

(B) The second stage is that of War. The way must be cleared for the establishment of a free and sovereign state managed by the people. The debris of the old regime must be removed. And the only agent that can accomplish this work is the sword. No subject nation can win freedom without War, — without a war to the knife with its alien rulers. He who tells the people that this principle is wrong must be a fool or a knave.

(C) After the War, the work of reconstruction and consolidation commences. This task requires the exercise of the greatest qualities of statesmanship. The whole machinery of a new state has to be erected. Efficient safeguards against future dangers have to be found. Memorials of the war of independence have to be established. The recognition of neighbouring nations has to be obtained for the new-born state. All these difficulties can be solved only by men possessing virtue and wisdom in their highest forms. Ardent patriots and consummate statesmen lead the nation to the promised land after its march through the wilderness of war and suffering.

These three stages of every national movement must be passed through. History cannot alter its course for India. After Mazzini, Garibaldi: after Garibaldi, Cavour. Even so it must be with us. Virtue and Wisdom first; then War: finally, Independence.

This is our programme in a nutshell. We need not dilate upon it on this occasion. *We shall insist on individual moral progress and intellectual enlightenment*. we shall bid men prepare for the war that must come: we shall ask them to be ready for the onerous duties that will have to be discharged after the triumph of the cause in the field. *Propaganda and Suffering at the beginning: Heroism and Valour in the Middle: Wisdom and Constructive Genius at the End*. This is our plan; and this is the only road to liberty. Whoever pretends to find a short cut is a quack and a liar. We solicit the fraternal cooperation of all Indians in particular and all our brother-men in general in the holy work of raising the moral and intellectual level of one-fifth of the human race, so that it may become fit to enter the temple of Liberty through the portal of War.

THE SITUATION

The Nationalist party in India is passing through a critical stage in its history. There is some anxiety with regard to the future in the minds of many supporters of the cause. Some of our most earnest workers are at a loss what to do. They do not see their way clearly before them. Not a few even give way to despair and imagine that at present we have been routed by the superior strength and tactics of the Government. Often one is inclined to question one self « Whence are we coming? And whither will it lead" ? There is much silent mental suffering and searching of the heart among all patriots. We propose to show that on the whole the Cause has made decided progress during the last 3 years, and that we are much better off now than we were at the commencement of this first phase of our strnggle with the bureaucracy. We shall endeavour to take stock of our position and to make our readers realise the advantages that we have secured as a recompense for the sacrifices of men and money that we have made during this period.

And these have been no inconsiderable sacrifices. A pessimist may ask what the country has gained at the hands of the pugnacious nationalists. Was it worth while to raise a tempest ina teapot and lose our worthiest men, our leaders and our heroic youths all for nothing? What has India won to console her for the loss of Chidambaram, Tilak, Siva, Hemchandra Das, Baren and many other valuable workers who have been taken away from us in this battle of the extremists with the British government. Have we suffered terrible losses? Which side has been defeated, we or the bureaucracy? Can we congratulate ourselves on the result of our three year's persistent campaign against Englishmen and Indian moderates and traitors? Are we winners or losers at this present moment?

And our answer is that we are decidedly, undoubtedly winners. At first sight, this contention may appear ridiculous to those who look only at the surface. How can we be said to have won, they may ask, when as a consequence of our first skirmish, all our literay propaganda has been seriously hampered; our newspapers have been silenced; our thinkers and writers have been incarcerated or sent into voluntary exile; our people have been harassed with visitations of the secret police; the bureaucracy has been forewarned and put on its guard; all future work been rendered trebly difficult; many leaders have been demoralised and tempted to deny their principles; the party seems to be scattered and overawed; and we have been really driven into a corner by the strength of the enemy. Is this what you call a victory? It might be a Pyrrhic victory indeed, but as a matter of fact, the government has gained by the mischievous activity of the nationalists who have overreached themselves and foolishly made the government stronger than before. Thus the end of foreign rule has not been hastened: on the contrary, it is farther off than ever.

This line of argument may influence those who do not consider the real bearing of events and who are ignorant of the history of other countries, where revolutionary movements have been carried to a successful issue. We shall now recount the advantages that have been obtanied and it will be easy to determine which side has suffered most.

(1) First, the Congress bubble has burst and the idea of cooperation with government has been exposed and discredited for ever. When one thinks how our most intelligent patriots lent their support to that baneful and sinister movement before 1906, one feels disposed to shed tears of joy at the change that has come over the country. Before 1906, the Congress was the idol of the nation: nobody spoke out with regard to its real object and its pernicious influence on Indian public life. The country had lost all manhood and wisdom: even our stoutest supporters thought they were

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doing good to the country by attending the congress. Few suspected that this movement was engineered by the Anglo-Indians with a view to divert the attention of the people from secret organisation and preparation for a rebellion. Few imagined that the success of the Congress marked the last stage in the consolidation of British rule in India. On account of its activity, such mean and worthless chatterboxes as Surendra Nath Banerji, Pherozshah Mehtha and Gokhale had become the guides and leaders of the nation. Woe unto a people who possess such «leaders»! The feeling against service under Government was fast dying out. Fancy a man like Ranade, a soulless, scheming servant of the bureaucracy, being taken as the best and wisest thinker of our country! All these signs of rapid social degradation were visible during the twenty years during which the Congress was slowly poisoning our body politic, and men were beginning to lose hope for the future. But the last three years have wrought a miraculous change. The real character of the Congress as a Government institution has been recognised. False leaders have been found out. The Congress and all its accursed propaganda, its lifeless resolutions, its servile professions of loyalty, its numerous brood of cowardly and stupid politicians, its three days' farce at which the poor misguided youths of India assembled to applaud and admire their leaders, who were half fools and half knaves — all these painful, distressing symptoms of moral degeneracy and political blindness have been swept away at one blow. The man who broke up the Congress in Dec' 1907 opened a new era in the history of India. The goats and the sheep were parted. The hideous nightmare of 20 years was lifted from the bosom of the Motherland. For no young man now believes in the Congress or the Moderate leaders. They are despised and abused every where. The disease of the Congress which had been sapping our moral strength has been cured for ever. This achievement alone can reconcile us to the losses of men and money that we have suffered.

2. Closely connected with the Congress was the educational system of the Government. It makes us ashamed of our nationality to confess that most Indian patriots believed in the civilising and elevating mission of Government schools and colleges till four or five years ago. Even such colleges as owed their inception to indigenous effort were affiliated to Government Universities! There were no profound students of politics and sociology who could have warned the people against the soul-killing denationalising effects of University Education. But now all of a sudden the nation has learned wisdom, and it knows that Government schools are intended to undermine our national spirit and destroy our language and literature, our religion and civilisation. Hindu society has found in them its subtlest enemies.

3. The prestige of the Indian people has been raised in the estimation of the world. No words can describe the altered attitude of civilised humanity towards India. Formerly all thinkers seemed to agree that India had no future. Her race was run: she was blotted out from the page of history.

It was expected that Britain would slowly eat up the semi independent States and that would be the end. Everybody spoke of the Hindus with contempt and pity. For it was evident that they were incapable of liberating themselves from the foreigners' yoke. The world had doomed us to perpetual slavery. But now all is changed. European magazines discuss the possibility of Britain losing India. *India has during the last 3 years definit ely entered world politics as a by no means inconsiderable factor.* Statesmen cannot forecast the future of Asia without taking into account the grim figure of the Indian Nationalist. At last, after 50 years of obscurity and insignificance, we feel we have ceased to be no bodies in the world. We may hold up our heads and say that we are struggling for freedom. Strangers may be with us or against us: but they cannot despise us. Once more has India entered into the calculations of politicians. This is an inestimable advantage. A Hindu is no longer a pariah, but a patriot fighting for freedom. The world does not and cannot sympathise with slaves who hug their chains, but it admires all weak nations that aspire towards freedom. Formerly our place was with the Negroes, the Malays; the Maoris; now we rank with the Irish, the Poles and the Russians. We have thus ascended a rung in the social ladder of humanity. This gain in the national position is a boon the value of which cannot be over-estimated.

4. The prestige of the government has been shaken to a remarkable extent. A handful of determined men have proved to this craven dispirited generation that the British administration is not so vigilant and powerful as it appears to the untutored imagination of the common people. The awe with which the man in the street regards the British officer is the mainstay of British rule in India. Formerly we used to fancy that any designs set on foot by us against the bureaucracy would be checkmated before any useful results could be obtained, because the government kept itself in touch with all that happens in our midst and trustworthy comrades were hard to find. But now we have stolen a march on the enemy: we have organised societies, we have punished evildoers, we have thrown the administration into a panic. Naturally we reflect that we could do wonders if the nationalist spirit were more widely diffused.

5. Above all, the most inspiring examples of self sacrifice have been set for our moral elevation. We remember how we used to deplore the incapacity of our country men for any kind of sacrifice for the public good. We believed that it would be very difficult to rouse them to enthusiasm for any great cause. So dull and listless, so covetous and indifferent our young men appeared to be only 5 years since. But now no one can complain that young India is wanting in devotion and self denial. In all parts of the country we have observed signs of a wonderful moral upheaval. We ourselves are surprised at this spectacle. Never before during the last 50 years were young men so ready to throw away everything that makes life worth living and willingly suffer exile, imprisonment and martyrdom for the national cause. As we have watched this process, we have felt like one who sees his dearest relative being rescued from the jaws of death. We have observed this resuscitation of social energy, this revival of patriotic feeling, with mingled awe and delight. Mazzini said: « One month of action transforms a people more than 20 years of being preached to". And we see that the vigorous policy of the last 3 years has awakened even the peasants and set them thinking. There is no comparison between the India of 1904 and the India of 1909. They are like two different countries. It is the difference between Life and Death, between Light and Darkness. The moral impetus to our movement has been immense; it cannot be calculated in so many words. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church; and the foundations of our church have been well laid in the last 3 years. In a word, *we have made some real history;* and that is no mean achievement.

Reckoning up all these elements of progress, who can imagine that we have been losers in this first skirmish. True, we have lost some workers who cannot be replaced. True, we have put the

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bureaucracy on its guard. True, we shall find future propaganda immensely more difficult than heretofore. True, we have been compelled to transfer our base of operations to foreign countries. But all these difficulties simply mean that we have entered an advanced stage of the movement. Who would always remain a child, because youth beings new responsibilities and complications in its train? We must rejoice that Nationalism has passed the days of its infancy and is now a full-grown complete movement with its principles clearly defined, its martyrs numbered among the heroes of humanity, its operations recorded by the world's press from day to day. The men we have lost will be replaced by others, for India has many able and earnest sons. We must bear the fortune of war. There has been no battle in the history of the world, in which no one has been killed or wounded. There can be no such battle. We can therefore look back upon the past with pride and satisfaction, and face the future with hope and confidence.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

DHINGRA THE IMMORTAL

Young India has produced another hero, whose words and deeds shall be cherished by the whole world for centuries to come. Dhingra's declaration will be treasured in the archives of national and universal history as a precious heirloom for future generations. Dhingra has behaved at each stage of his trial like a hero of ancient times. He has reminded us of the history of Medieval Rajputs and Sikhs, who loved death like a bride. England thinks she has killed Dhingra: in reality he lives for ever and has given the death-blow to British sovereignty in India. Life immortal is his; who can take it away from him. All nations have watched Dhingra's trial with bated breath, and have felt that New India is unconquerable because she can give birth to such heroic sons.

The Indian patriotic party, which has declared War to the Knife with England has issued a manifesto, in the course of which it says: « Dhingra has found out the secret of Life: he has discovered the path of Immortality. He has realised the highest destiny of Man... He has lifted himself above the common run of men and joined the company of the saints and heroes ». These words sum up the attitude of all India towards our patriot-martyr.

In time to come, when the British Empire in India shall have been reduced to dust and ashes, Dhingra's monument will adorn the squares of our chief towns, recalling to the memory of our children the noble life and the nobler death of him who laid down his life in a far-off land for the cause he loved so well.

THE AEROPLANE

India is interested in the progress of aviation to the same extent as other countries. The aeroplane will play an important part in the political struggles of the future. One can already see

> The heavens filled with shouting and there rains a ghastly dew,
> From the nations' aerial navies grappling in the central blue.

In Indian literature, mention is often made of dirigible balloons, in which our heroes used to traverse great distances in the olden times. At present, the aeroplane will be useful to us a means of eluding the vigilance of British custom-house officials on the land frontiers of India. The entire length of the frontier is open to the daring aviator who should venture to import arms or ammunition into India. The aeroplane is relatively an inexpensive instrument, and its advent is really a boon to small states and struggling nations.

GOKHALE & C°

The clique of ignoble and cowardly politicians who trade in the tears and groans of their countrymen and who are represented by that conscienceless shameless poltroon, Gokhale of Poona, have been doing their best to mislead our young men by means of utterances and writings as specious as they are mischievous. All these pseudo-patriots resort to the same tricks to win the favour of Government and secure their personal safety in the midst of the general ruin of their nation. It is amusing to see that these selfish and unprincipled wretches sometimes quarrel among themselves out of vanity and personal jealousy. So much the better for us. A house divided against itself cannot stand, and already the « Moderates » are shownig signs of disunion and internal collapse. Gokhale has been treating the people to some fine speeches: he is a past master in the art of clothing mischievous nonsense in the garb of high-sounding phrases. Another « leader » of the « Moderates » has suddenly conceived a strong affection for the « depressed » classes. Lajpat Rai, the unstable weather-cock of Indian public life, has almost turned away from high politics and has suddenly discovered that the lower classes must be raised in the social scale before anything can be done. Further, the « Panjabee » has been belabouring Gokhale mercilessly for the last two months. Again, there is no agreement among the « Moderates » as to the programme of the next Congress. The Panjab was supposed to have invited that assembly of political buffoons and imbeciles, but now Lajpat Rai points out that Lahore cannot afford a refuge to the Congress in its distress. Meanwhile Surenda Nath Banerji has been licking the shoestrings of the British people and making himself ridiculous in the eyes of the whole world.

There is one feat accomplished by this firm of Gokhale and C° which deserves mention. The Indian Association of Lahore has presented M. Mackarness M. P. with a tea set of Kashmir silver in recognition of his services on behalf of the deportees! We suspect this act of gratitude has been prompted by one of the Lahore politicians who had lunched and dined several times with M. Mackarness durnig his recent sojourn in England. Surely there are no lower depths of mean sycophancy! Thus do self-seeking public men worm themselves into the favour of Anglo-Indians. Perhaps no better use could be found for all this money in our famine stricken country!! It is an instance of disgusting servility and humiliates all Indians who do not condeum it.

LAW and NATIONALISM

In our work for the triumph of Justice and Truth, we never take account of « laws » enacted by our enemies. It would be a singular tactical error to regulate our conduct by the ordinances which are intended to crush and paralyse our nation for ever. As well may we advise the deer to run according to the wishes of the lion! We should never forget that the laws framed bythe British government in India have no other object than to terrorise, emasculate and degrade us every day of our lives. The Codes of British India are the pillars of the Executive, whose sole aim is the perpetuation of the British Empire in the East. Let no one think that we can « take advantage » of these laws or find a way through them in a law-abiding manner. This idea is a snare and a delusion. The laws of British India are no more binding on us than those of Matabeleland. Our attitude should be that of adherence to Right and Justice, and this policy must bring us into conflict with « the law » in India. For that «law» is an embodiment of the aliens' greed and cunning. An honest, patriotic Indian must come into collision with such « laws » every day. No: we look only to our duty, revering our Conscience as our king and pursue our work calmly and manfully without caring for the « laws » of our enemies. As far as we are concerned, they simply exist not, or exist only to be defied and violated at the call of duty. They are fetters with which our tyrants would bind us, and we must break them if we wish to move forward. We wish to make this point clear in view of some recent utterances which may otherwise be misunderstood by our idealistic aspiring young men.

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Conscience the Nation-Builder

Young India is engaged in the difficult task of nation-building. The sacred work occupies all our energy at present. To this thrice blessed enterprise our noblest men are called by the voice of the Mother. The true nation builder will be the true liberator and saviour of India.

Let us discuss the question of the essential requisites of nation-building. What is it that is lacking? Why is India a country of slaves and not of free men? What really ails her and how can we supply a remedy? What is the central idea in Nation-building, on which eveything depends? What particular aim should we place before ourselves in our work as patriots? We know that we wish to build up a strong, free, prosperous, enlightened and progressive nation in India. We have advanced so far. The next step is to inquire what is the best method for achieving this end. It is an all-important inquiry, as the success of our efforts will depend on the adoption of suitable means for the accomplishment of our object, for in politics all roads do not lead to Rome. We should not waste our energy in following a wrong path.

Unity of Religion is no safeguard of freedom.

Let us dispose of a few false ideas before we indicate the true solution. It is said that India fell because of the diversity of races and creeds. If this were true, there would be no hope for us, as the number of races and creeds flourishing in India is not likely to be diminished in the near future. If this theory were correct, our future would be very gloomy indeed. As a matter of fact, the proposition that India cannot be a united nation until its people profess one religion, is not supported by historical facts. For the cause of our subjugation was not disunion arising from difference of religion. At no time in the period of the British Conquest did sectarian quarrels or jealousies play any important part in weakening our power of resisting the invaders. Let us look at the facts in detail. Bengal was not conquered because the Hindoos betrayed the Muhamadans or the Vaishnavites fought the Saivites at the critical moment. If unity of religion could lead to national union, the Marhattas would not have lost their empire. The treacherous general who made common cause with the English against his Mahomedan master was Mir Jafar, a Muhamadan. The evil genius of the Marhatta race was Raghoba, himself a Marhatta. The Marhattas were not divided by any religious animosities. They were all Hindus, and orthodox Hindus. There were no protestant sects among them. There was the greatest similarity among them in point of custom and religion. If a people professing a common religion could maintain their freedom, surely the Marhattas possessed that factor of Nation-building. Again, the Sikhs not only belonged to one religion, Hinduism, but even formed a small sect of it and were linked together by the closest ties of common worship and social rules. The Sikhs exhibited a wonderful degree of external uniformity. They dressed alike, wore the same headgear, had a common ending to their names and were drilled like a battalion. As far as unity of religion went, yon could not distinguish one Sikh from another. And yet the Sikhs could not save their State from ruin, and the Sikh states of Patiala and Kapurthala joined the English against Maharaja Ranjitsingh. Sikh states helped in in the suppression of the Kooka rising against British tyranny in 1872. And Sikhs have delivered the Khalsa College into the hands of government.

Nor could the religious unity of Islam save the Muhamadan Empire fram destruction. Hyder Ali, Tippu, the Nizam and the Delhi Emperor were all Muslims. But the Nizam joined the league against Tippu, which was formed by the English and received a part of the spoils. Again, in 1857 the policy of the Nizam could have decided the fate of the British Empire in India. The word ran along the British lines: « If the Nizam goes, all is lost ». But the Nizam did not come to the help of his coreligionist, the Delhi Emperor, against the Kaffirs of England.

It appears, therefore, that even if India belonged to one religion and to one denomination of that religion, political freedom could not be guaranteed, for the Mùhamadans have one faith and yet Delhi has fallen: the Marhattas are all Hindus and yet the Union Jack floats over Poona and the few remaining Marhatta princes are feudatories: the Sikhs profess one creed and form a closely-knit sect and yeb Lahore is under the sway of the Feringhees, and Sikh states have themselves contributed to this fatal consummation.

Nor Unity of Language.

Some thinkers have laid down the maxim that India cannot obtain salvation without a common language. But a common language is no safe-guard of national freedom and no preservative of national unity. Marathi did not save the Marhattas. Gurmukhi could not help the Sikhs. Bengali did not prevent the Af-

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ghans from overrunning Bengal. Even if India possessed a common language, our work of nation-buildiug could not rest on sure foundations.

Examples.

Indeed the presence of a common language and religion has not acted as a charm against foreign rule. Burma possesses both these characteristics: Poland has them: Ireland has them. And yet these countries are all groaning in fetters.

Let us take another example. In 1806, Germany lay at the feet of Napoleon. In 1871, she had avenged herself on France. In 1909, she is dreaded by both France and Great Britain. What has happened? The religion of the German people has not altered: the language difficulty still exists. As far as such external attributes of national life as dress, food, customs, religion, language and history are concerned, Germany is still the same as she was in the days of her weakness. What new thing has enabled her to become a strong nation? It cannot be a common language or a common religion, as in these respects there has been no considerable change. What is it, then?

The Political Question is a Moral Question.

And now we come to the crux of the problem of Nation-building. The riddle can be solved only when we learn the great truth that the *political question in India is at bottom an ethical question*. Similarity in religion or language can give us external uniformity bnt not unity. Uniformity in national habits and external appearance is not the same thing as national unity in politics. The former is mechanical, formal, external: the latter is spiritual and internal. Uniformity is visible, patent and continuous; unity is latent, is fed from unseen sources and changes from age to age. Uniformity is the shell: unity the kernel. Uniformity is the form, the garment, the body of the State: Unity is the spirit, the Moving Principle, the Essence of its vitality.

Subject Peoples require Moral growth

Let us always remember that National Unity is a mora unity, a unity of aim and endeavour and aspiration, and that it can therefore be attained only by a *process of moral growth*. What every subject people lacks is CONSCIENCE: and no amount of external uniformity in language and religion can supply this essential requisite of a stable national life, just as a number of similarly coloured and cut garments cannot breathe life into a row of dummies and dolls. The political question in India is not one of races and creeds and languages: *it is a question of the heart of the individual*. Those who wish to make India free should turn their attention to the task of providing her millions with a Conscience and should not waste their time in bewailing the diversity of creeds and tongues.

Questions to illustrate the Causes of India's fall.

We cannot expatiate at length on this point in a brief article. We shall put a series of questions and if the answer to every one of them is the same, our position will be justified. We ask, « Why did the King of Bengal flee from his capital when Khilji arrived? Why did Rajput nobles covet each others goods even when the nation's freedom was at stake? Why did Meer Jafar sell his master to the English? Why did the numerous troops assembled at Plassey run away at the first
Why did the Marhattas and the Nizam help the
conquest of Mysore? Why did Raghoba accept the bribe
England? Why did the Marhatta Princes fail to combine
the English in 1817? Why was there so much intermeci
and jealousy after Ranjit's death in the Panjab? Why
Singh play the role of a traitor in the first Sikh war,
was the General of the army? Why did the Sikhs join
glish in 1857? Why did the Rajputs and Marhattas hold
that occasion? Why did the mass of the people fail to
risk their life in battle at each stage in the progress of the
Conquest? Why did they prefer to sit by their hearth and

Again, Why did Indians accept service under the
Why did the Hindu soldiers march against Poona, the
Hindu Empire? Why did Ranade and Mitter and Dutt and
accept service in the civil department? Why do brilliant
enter government service today, thongh they know that they
ing theircountry? Why do our « leaders » makeinsincere
es and sign the Congress creed? Why do the ministers
own States play into the hands of the Resident? Why
internal affairs of most of our States in a state of disorder
enables the British to obtain control of their administration?
do our young men fail to respond to our appeal for help
movement? Why is all India indolent today when it ou
be up and doing, collecting arms and ammunition, formin
talions and sounding the war-trumpet?

The Answer.

The only answer to these questions, which are design
illustrate in a panoramic survey the causes of our subjectio
a simple one: « It is because the average Indian has a dull
science ». « It is because he thinks of his safety, his pros
or his ease when he ought to think of his Duty ».

The Idea Explained.

No country can be conquered unless the following c
tions exist: [1] The people do not fight the invader [2] The
ple help the conquerors afterwards in the work of admini
tion in return for emoluments. If these two conditions do
prevail, foreign rule cannot exist at all. That in certain.

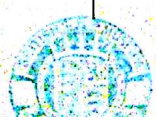
Now, why do people fail to fight at the outset, when a
vading army appears? Because they are cowardly and indol
In other words, because they love Life.

Again, why do they help the conquerors to carry out
unjust policy by enlisting in the army or the civil departme
Because they love money. In other words, because they lov
Pleasures of Life.

Root-Cause of Subjection: the two enemies.

Now we have found the root-cause of political subjectio
is not diversity of languages and creeds. It is want of Conse
— it is the Love of Life, and the Love of the Pleasures of

This is a message of hope. For differences of creed and
guage will always exist among the Indians. But Conscien
a thin that all can possess. If we obtained that Life-
charm, no Indian would serve the British: no Indian woul
tray his comrades or quarrel with them on personal grou
And on the positive side, every Indian would be ready to
fice his life and every pleasure of life for the sake of ju
Then British rule will be impossible, and India will enjoy
and plenty for ages to come.



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Conscience the true Nation-builder.

Therefore, my friends, make your Conscience responsive to every prompting of Duty. Buddha long ago said: " Bhava-trishnà and bibhava trisnà — Love of Life and Love of the Pleasures of life — are the great enemies of mankind. " Listen to this wise precept of your great sage. He who slowly but surely conquers these two weaknesses is the true nation-builder, even though he may not deliver a speech or write an article in a magazine. Freedom and everlasting happiness will be ours when we purify the hearts and minds of our people and endow them with a Conscience, so that they may say: " We love not Life: we love not its Pleasures: we obey only our Conscience ". Then all the tyrants of the world shall not be able to hold you down. For Conscience is the sun which puts an end to the darkest night of misery and shame, and ushers in the glorious day of Unity, Prosperity and Peace.

The Egyptian Congress

The Egyptian Congress, which was held at Genève on the 13th, 14th and 15th of September was distinctly a success as far as it went: but it did not go far enough. The programme was not a sufficiently practical one: there was too much talk of international action and too little thought of national self-help. One missed the bold note of sincere leadership. Once only did the assembly rise to a high pitch of enthusiasm and that was when M. Goumah declared that they were ready to do everything for the liberty of Egypt. But M. Goumah himself spoiled his message by speaking of " peaceful and constitutional methods " the next day. The greater number of the leaders appeared to be tame timid trembling patriots who did not wish to commit themselves to any definite constructive policy.

The evil effects of the British occupation were described at length by several speakers, and resolutions were passed demanding the immediate withdrawal of British troops! We were sorry to note that the proposed committees on practical work could not be convened.

Mr. Kèir Hardie first made a very demoralising speech, in the course of which he advised the young Egyptians to carry on their movement on strictly constitutional lines, to avoid secret societies and not to " harp on " such incidents as the Denshawai affair, as such conduct would alienate public opinin in England. Mr. Kettle M. P. uttered words of wisdom when he said that Egypt should rely on herself.

Fortunately, the young Egyptians did not seem to appreciate Mr. Hardies sentiments. They responded eagerly to M. Goumah's appeal for a manly aud effective policy for the liberation of their country. It was also pointed out by another speaker that constitutionalism was a synonym for cowardice and that freedom could only be secured by adopting Mazzini's maxim: " Education and Insurrection. "

The proceedings were generally of a humdrum character. It was decided that a paper to be called « L' Egypte Libre » should be started in order to enlighten pubblic opinion in Europe. This false move shows that the leaders look to the wrong quarter for help.

We were glad to notice tht the young Egyptians were enthusiastic and intelligent. Their refusal to address the Khedive as « well-beloved » gave us great peausre, as it showed that they had a sense of responsibility in public life. What is wanted at the present crisis is wise and brave leadership. We do not know if it can be had in Egypt.

We have no sympathy with the cant of constitutionalism. We are ready to cooperate with our Egyptian comrades if they are sensible and begin to prepare for a rebellion against English rule. We warn them against the wiles of selfstyled " friends of Egypt ,, in England. We advise them to distrust all cowardly and stupid Egyptian leaders who decry the policy of Active Resistance. We too join the chorus of « Long live Egypt ».

Notes and Comments

The North Pole.

We express our appreciation, on behalf of India, of the courage and daring exhibited by the explorer or explorers by whom the North Pole has at last been reached. Young India honours heroism in all its forms. When our brethren of America risk their lives in order to extend our knowledge of the barren and inhospitable regions of the globe, how much more should we not sacrifice for such a glorious and fruitful idea as the Freedom of India? All true hearts turn to that great Ideal as the needle turns to the Pole.

Gokhale and Co.

The selfish and stupid clique of Moderate politicians, who are bent on ruining the land that gave them birth, have not been idle this month. Surendra Nath Banerji has been even more foolishly noisy than before. He reports that a Canadian gentleman said to him, " Mr. Banerji, if all Indians are like you, I am of opinion that self-government should be granted at once. " One can only remark in this connection: " Mr. Banerji, if all intellectual Indians were as cowardly, servile, selfish, vainglorious and insincere as you have shown yourself throughout your career, India would be doomed to perpetual slavery. "

On the occasion of the « celebration » of the Boycott anniversary in Calcutta, Bhupèndra Nath Basu delivered a wordy speech, which included a condemnation of our Martyrs and from which all discussion of the question of the Bengal deportees was omitted! The 7th of August is still formally celebrated in Calcutta, but the old spirit in gone. The demonstration lacked the spontaneous enthusiasm of previous years. It was utilised by moderate politicians for the purpose of depreciating advanced Nationalism and incidentally securing the safety of their own skins, It is no use celebrating the 7th. of August like a tame farce. If it is no longer possible to speak the truth at public meetings, let all Nationalists celebrate the sacred day in their homes, and in secret gatherings like the early Crhistians. He who has no home and cannot attend a private meeting, let him celebrate it in his heart. For the rebirth of our nation should be celebrated by pious rejoicing and earnest resolve and reverent remembrance of the martyrs of the Cause. That is the essence of a fête. Functions at which timid politicians deliver verbose aad meaningless speeches and revile our martyrs, constitute a desecration and not a celebration of the 7th. of August. Noise is not Life. Nationalism must now woork in silence, and we should not take part in demonstrations, where truth is not honoured, even though they retain their old names.

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South Africa.

The question of the grievances of Indians in the Transvaal has again come to the front during the last month on account of the delegation sent by Indians in South Africa to London and the meeting held in Bombay to protest against British policy towards Indian settlers in the Transvaal. We wish to point out that until the mother-country is freed froom British domination, Indians will continue to be treated like pariahs in every part of the world. Helots at home cannot occupy the position of honoured citizens abroad. A person who is not protected by a national flag is like an orphan on the highways of the world. The real solution of the Indian question in the Transvaal can be worked out neither in London nor in Durban, but in India itself. We must also add that a race, which contents itself with a campaign of hollow words and frothy rhetoric-even when its members are subjected to such indignity and injustice as the Transvaal Indians have to suffer, richly deserves its fate. Freedom is for men who can work and fight. As the poet has sung: « They have rights who dare maintain them ». If Indian patriots really desire that their campatriots in Africa should enjoy the rights of free men, let them begin by asserting « the sacred right of rebellion » within the confines of India as soon as possible.

British Intrigue in our States.

The wily British agents in our States have been busy with their intrigues against Nationalism. They have induced the authorities of Gwalior State to prosecute several members of the Abhinava bhârat society and to prohibit the circulation of many newspapers in the State. It is a pity that our ministers should become tools of the British Agent, but this policy will recoil on the heads of those who have devised it. It will exasperate the manly people of the States, who still possess some of the virtues that spring from self govern ment. It will rouse them to a sense of the danger that threatens their liberty on account of the machinations of the British Residents. One thing is certain. If the British succeed in using some Princes or their ministers as catspaws against the Nationalists, the latter will reply by urging the people of the States to get rid of the unpatriotic and immoral Prince or minister by united action. We trust the people: we have little faith in Durbars. The German princes made common cause with Napoleon, the invader of their Fatherland: but the German people repulsed his battallions. We warn all princes, princelings, Thakurs, Raos and other similar aristocrats that they shall meet the fate of the Sultan and the Shah if they pursue a selfiish policy in the present crisis. For the people of the States are sound at heart, thongh the Durbars be corrupt and inefficient.

The Inns of Court and Nationalists..

We congratulate Sriyuts Sawarkar and Chattopadhyaya on the result of the proceedings taken against them by the Benchers of the Inns of Court to which they had the misfortune to belong. We hold that a true Indian nationalist shoud not join the Bar of Court in order to be able to practise in the British law-courts in India. A Barrister-at-law assists the alien magistrate in the work of administering the laws enacted by the Viceroy's Council and makes his living by helping in the perpetuation of a judicial system which is impoverishing and demoralising our peasantry. Legislation is an important function of government: courts are established for the execution of laws. As we pointed out in our last issue, the Indians should not recognise laws passed by their enemies. They should therefore also refuse to attach themselves in any capacity to the British judicial system which is the right arm of the Executive. A barrister-at-law is a hanger-on of the bureaucracy who tries to enrich himself by assisting the English in the work of administration and exploitation. Now our enemies themselves have wiped away the stain from the brows of our friends. They were too good and pure for them. They could not be ranked together with the servile spiritless young men who flock to London in order to obtain the status of Barrister-at-law. We wish that all Indian students now reading for the Bar should share the blessing which has fallen to the lot of our brave comrades. It is a pitiful sight to find youths of good family supplicating the English lawyers for permission to earn little money in India on condition that they would popularise British law and thus strenghthen the foundations of British rule in their country.

Guy Alfred Aldred.

We wish to express our sincere appreciation of the bravery and love of humanity displayed by our brother, Mr. Aldred who has been imprisoned in London for printing the « Indian Sociologist. » Such men are the salt of the earth. Young India should profit by the example of this righteous man who is suffering for the sake of human progress.

« *'Tis comin' in for a' that.*
'Tis comin' in for a' that,
That man to man the world o'er
Shall brothers be for a' that.

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THE BANDE MATARAM

A Monthly Organ of Indian Independence

« Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence. »
(*Gautama Buddha.*)

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Mr. BEPIN CHANDRA PAL THE "LOST LEADER"

It is with the greatest pity and sorrow that we have been watching the slow «decline and fall» of Mr. Pal's patriotism and wisdom during the last twelve months. Time was when Mr. Pal declared at Madras that the Indians would not boycott arms or ammunition of foreign manufacture! And now the same gentleman is prostituting his time and talent in writing mischievous nonsense to poison the minds of the people. But he can rest assured that our young men now pay no heed to such lying words and insincere professions, for they have got a firm hold on the real principles of nationalism.

When Mr Pal arrived in Paris in September, 1908, our friends there had an opportunity of talking to him. Evasive and inconclusive as his remarks were, there were moments when he could be induced to say something definite. And he said once, « I wish to appeal to the British people for the repeal of the Arms Act and for the establishment of the trial by jury so that our struggle may be peaceful. » « And what, if they don't listen to you! » asked a friend. « Then I will retire to America, » said Mr. Pal, « and preach war from there. » A year has passed, Mr. Pal's appeal has not been heard of, and the preaching of war is as far off as ever!

Again, Mr. Pal delivered three lectures in Caxton Hall, in December. Speaking on methods, Mr. Pal declared in a vague, unsettled sort of way that, if God willed, active resistance was to come. The reference to the Divine will may have been due to policy or piety. The name of God has been taken by many people for many reasons. A few days after, an Indian youth walking along with Mr. Pal near Shepherd's Bush Tube Station said, « Mr. Pal, I am glad you advocated active resistance. » And, Mr. Pal said. « Did I? » The interlocutor then changed the subject, as he did not know what to make of this remark. Mysterious are the ways of Providence, — and of Mr. Pal!

We have known Mr. Pal at first hand recently, and we have been grieved to see so blatant a monotheist contradicting himself, demeaning himself, committing sins in public life which make *us* hang down our head in shame though *he* is the culprit.

Mr. Pal expounded his «Philosophy of Nationalism» in his journal, *Swaraj*, and also in the articles he contributed to the Indian Press. He always mentions his God in all important utterences. He prates of spirituality and religion. He poses as a pious, prayerful sort of person, but he is only a latterday tame Jewish Prophet, with the fire all gone out of him. He would fain act as an old Testament prophet but without the vision, the sincerity, the passion of the seer. All these antics have only amused and irritated us.

The pseudo-philosophical discussions which he has been carrying on with a view to the condemnation of our beloved Martyrs, Bose and Dhingra, and against the policy of preparing for a National Rising against the tyrants, have wearied us and exhausted our patience. Mr. Pal thinks that he is the only wise and learned Indian of the present generation and that he is writing for fools. His parade of argument has struck us as useless, stale and unprofitable. It cannot doceive even a child. We quote below some gems of his recent articles :

« He (the Indian Nationalist) recognises that as long there is this acquiescence of the people behind it (the British government) this authority is essentially a moral authority. To refuse to admit it would be individualism, not Nationalism. As long as the nation accepts this government, through whatever motive or reason it may be, the individual has no right to rise in rebellion against it. Such rebellion is against Dharma. »

« Peaceful self-reliance and watchful passive resistance have been our one watchword. »

« We shall recognise their right and authority as *de facto* rulers of the country, to discharge the primary functons of the state. »

« Those who are pursing this method of counter-violence do not seem to realise the risks that their acts involve. Either they will succeed or they will fail. And what, if they succeed? They may make the government impossible. But to make the administration impossible by peaceful passive resistance is one thing, and to make it impossible by breaking it is another. In the former case, popular freedom is secured by strictly constitutional methods. »

« That is the danger of these outbursts of political violence in India. They have a fatal tendency towards denationalising the movement and divorcing it from the eternal spirit of the Indian nation. »

« Respect for law and order is the very basis of true political freedom. »

« A murder excites our horror always. »

« Least of all was there any likelihood of this desire for freedom leading to any propaganda of political assassination among a people who have always held every form of life sacred : and who have been trained to view not only man but even the vilest vermin as a manifestation of the very life of God. »

These extracts will suffice to show to what depths of chicanery and casuistry a « lofty », « spiritual » philosopher can fall. Mr. Pal's words do not deserve criticism. We should insult our reader's intelligence if we were to expose their hollowness; the absurdity of Mr. Pal's notions are self-evident. We are reminded of the old definition of language as « the instrument for the concealment of our thoughts ».

Mr. Pal says all life is sacred. So it is. Whether vile vermin and bungling political philosophers be equally « the manifestation of the very life of God » or not, we cannot say. But there is another which is more sacred than life, and that is Truth and Justice for the triumph of which life is given to man.

Mr. Pal says that the « eternal spirit » of the Indian Nation » is opposed to active resistance. Fie on such cowardly sentiment! Our real national spirit is the spirit of Rama who destroyed the Tyrant of Lanka, of Krishna who not only slew Sishupal but bade Arjuna to kill even his relatives and teachers for the sake of Justice, of Wikrama who routed the invaders near Korur, of Manu who taught that a special body of men should devote themselves to war for the protection of the land, of Sivaji and Guru Govind who toiled all their life — sword in hand — to right human wrongs. If Mr. Pal is timid, that is no reason why he should misrepresent the whole nation and its ancestors. Shri Krishna said in the Gita : « For the protection of the virtuous, for the destruction of the wicked, — for the establishment of righteousness, — I am born from age to age. » This great sentence embodies and illustrates the real inward « eternal spirit » of our nation. Mr. Pal says that political freedom should be secured by « constitutional methods ». We ask him. « What are constitutional methods? » And how can you defeat the

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English army in India by speeches and articles or by holding aloof from the government? Like cures like, and armies alone can turn out armed foreigners and establish freedom. Perhaps, Mr. Pal knows some magical mysterious « constitutional » methods which are not known to any other political « philosopher »!

Mr. Pal says that rebellion is against Dharma as the nation appears to acquiesce in British rule. What a splendid argument! How logical and unanswerable it is! We are sorry even to notice such inane puerilities. If some robbers enter a man's house, and gag him and rob him of his weapons, and compel him and his family to serve them, then clearly — according to Mr. Pal's philosophy — the householder or his chidren individually have no right to kill the robbers or expel them, because, forsooth, the family, as a whole, are seen to acquiesce in their occupation of the house! Mr. Pal should know that a conquering army is the natural enemy of the people whom it oppresses, that the silence of the latter only shows their weakness, and that every individual of the people thus enslaved has not only the right of destroying any one er more members of the enemy's forces, but it is his duty to do so. A conquering army is like a pack of wolves or cloud of locusts, seeking whom to devour, and every honest person must help in the extinction of it. According to Mr. Pal, the Greek Revolutionaries had no right to rebel against Turkey; Mazzini was a sinner, as he preached rebellion long before the nation was ready to rise: Sivaji and his followers were culprits as they rose against Aurangazebe; and, all heroic men who have suffered for freedom were fools and criminals! There is a Persian proverb, « If the bat does not see by day, is the sun to blame? »

Mr. Pal always insists on lawful passive resistance, which is a contradiction in terms. We shall in a series of articles prove that passive resistance is useles unlesss it leads to active resistance which is indeed the only object of passive resistance. But of this later on; we have not done with Mr. Pal yet.

In concluding this all too brief note, we advise all Indian youths to be on their guard against Mr. Pal's sophistries. As for Mr. Pal himself we are sorry, indignant, and compassionate by turns Now was the time for him to rise to the occasion, to live in exile if necessary, and preach wisdom to our people as became his age and his talents. Truth tests Her votaries in time of adversity and peril, when poverty and exile and discouragement and loneliness are the rewards She offers to those who love Her. At this crisis in our politics. « broad is the gate and smooth is the path that leadeth to destruction and many there be that enter therein ». And, Mr. Pal has chosen the wrong path. We again ask our young men to love Principle, hate compromise, and to learn by heart tho following lines of Lowel, the American poet :

« Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide
In the strife of Truth and Falsehood 'twixt the good and evil side :
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand and the sheep upon the right,
And the choice goes by *for ever*, 'twixt that darkness and that light. »

Since writing the above, another incident has occurred which shows how much lower than the lowest depth of degradation Mr. Pal has sunk. The Indian students in London were organising a meeting to celel rate the Vijaya-Desami and sent invitation, among others, to Mr. Pal. The programme included. the offering of Pushpânjali to Shri Ram and the Mother-country. M. Pal could not bear the idea of there not being included in the programme the toast to the King of England. And so, straight he goes to some of the organisers of the meeting and asks them why the King-Emperor's toast was not included in the programme. They significantly told him that the Vijaya-Dasami was a religious feast and that his King-Emperor was quite out of place there. The great « nationalist » leader could not bear the idea that the Dussera feast should be conducted without the toast to a Christian king and, as a protest, he absented himself from the feast. This is the man who, when the « Bandè Mâtaram » of Calcutta congratulated « the King-Emperor » on the occasion of his birth-day in 1906. wrote to a (then) fellow-worker in England that it « broke his henrt » to see that the paper he started was being disgraced by the insertion of such a congratulation!... and this is the man who presumed and even now presumes to lead the Hindus in religion and all the people of Hindusthan in advanced Nationalism!

PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Passive Resistance is becoming more and more of a catchword among Indian Nationalists at present. It seems to be growing in favour. It seems so reasonable and at the same time free from danger. To some pseudo-philosophers, it appears to be the culmination of political wisdom. Some Indian thinkers imagine that it is destined to be the great instrument of our salvation. They attach overwhelming importance to it. We shall discuss the nature and scope of « passive resistance », its utility in our struggle against England and its limitations. There is a danger that our young man should be misled by the too frequent use of political terms, the exact importance of which they are unable to understand.

Let us start with a clear idea of what Passive Resistance really means. In reality, as we shall demonstrate, the phrase is a misnomer. There is no such thing as Passive Resistance. But even if we use the words in the sense generally attached to them, we have to warn our readers against the various misconceptions. Passive Resistance indicates unwillingness on the part of citizens or subjects to carry out or obey the *laws* framed by the ruling power. The element of voluntary co-operation on the part of those who are affected by the laws is wanting. When a number of persons refuse to do anything *of their own free will* for the proper execution of *laws* enacted by the sovereign power, they are said to resort to passive resistance. Now, we must note several points. First, Passive Cesistance is directed only against laws emanating from a government which can enforce obedience to them. If the citizens do something which embarasses or hampers the government, but which does not contravene any definite laws of that government, they cannot be said to have recourse to passive resistance. Subjects can combine to annoy the authorities in more ways than one. For instance, if national schools are opened, that is not passive resistance at all, for two reasons. There is no law of the government prohibiting the inauguration of such institutions, and further there is no question of unwillingness on the part of the citizens to carry out any law formally enacted by the government. Passive resistance comes into play only against laws regularly passed by a constituted authority. If the people boycott foreign goods, that may be an excellent expedient for injuring England, but its is by no means Passive Resistance in any known sense of the term; for, there is no law on the Indian statute-book compelling or enjoyning the use of foreign manufactures. It is only a *law*, having behind it the sanction of the government capable of enforcing it under all circumstances, that can be resisted by those who are brought under its operation. Indian politicians often denote by the term « passive resistance » any and every action calculated to obstruct the beauracracy or thwart the British policy in the East. This is a misuse of the word and we have no right to dignify our petty efforts at national self-assertion by the name of Passive Resistance.

Secondly, it must be borne in mind that passive resistance is negative in its character. It consists in refusing to do anything of one's own accord for the execution of an obnoxious law. It has reference to a particular a law or a set of laws, and it implies the absence of *voluntary* obedience to them. Any activity contrary to the interests of the government in any other direction cannot be brought under the head of Passive Resistance, which precludes the notion of positive activity. For instance, when a man refuses to state his income, or to pay the income-tax, he is said to resort to passive resistance; but, if he also forms a society to protests against it and initiates a campaign against the government, he passes the limits of passive resistance. Passive Resistance, then, is always negative and inactive in its character.

And that is why we assert that the phrase is really a misnomer. There is no limit of resistance in the conduct generally described as Passive Resistance. For it is clear that a government can always enforce obedience to its laws with or without the co-operation of such subjects as object to its policy. If some persons refue to pay taxes, the government can sieze their goods, as many passive resisters have found ere now. If they refuse to enlist, they can be imprisoned or exiled. As a matter of fact, the refusal of active obedience to laws involves *Passive Suffering* and not Passive Resistance. Suffering is passive, Resistance is always active. A man who declares he will not put his hands into his pocket to pay the taxgatherer, does not offer any active resistance whatever. For, he cannot prevent the tax-gatherer from forcibly taking his money out of his pocket. The moment he tries to prevent the official from doing so, either by taking hold of his hands or by threatening him with a display of physical force he passes the bounds of Passive Suffering and enters the aréna of Active Resistance, for he tries to use his force against that of the government. Hence, Passive Resistance properly defined is no form of resistance whatever but is only a form of suffering endured by those who violate a law but cannot or do not prevent the authorities from enforcing it in spite of their protest and their attitude of sullen aloofness.

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It is clear that a government suffers no immediate loss by the « passive resistance » of its subjects. Its laws can be carried out by its agents, regardless of the wishes of such persons as refuse to assist it in the work. These conscientious persons may have the satisfaction of keeping their moral integrity and setting an example of virtuous conduct, but the practical result of their efforts is not effected by their moral gain. The government is not immediately prevented from carrying out its policy. Passive Suffering injures only those who court it at the time being. The government triumphs as it does not wait for the sweet will and pleasure of everyone of its subjects before it enforces its laws.

We must therefore dismiss the nonsensical idea of resorting to Passive Resistance *within the bounds of law*. No living man can achieve such a feat. For Passive Resistance implies that some law is resisted in a passive manner. It is always directed against laws, obedience to which is enjoined by a government. There is not much heroism in doing something which is not forbidden by law or in omitting to do something which no law requires you to perform. No man can fall foul of the government if he does not break the law in some way or other. But Passive Resistance always brings people into collision with the government of the country. The English Nonconformists who refused to pay the Education Tax some years ago had always to appear in the court. Hence those who are very fond of preaching passive resistance should realise that they really counsel violation of the law of the land. A man cannot be a « law-abiding subject » as well as a passive resister. Such a combination of mutually contradictory functions cannot exist even in India, that country which is full of political charlatanism and casuistry just at present. You can't eat your cake and have it. You should not utter the name of passive resistance in vain, if you mean that you are going to do something which does not violate any existing law or laws framed by the government.

These, then, are the distiguishing features of Passive Resistance; it is directed against formal laws and it is negative in its character.

(Tobe continued).

SOME THOUGTS ON THE CELEBRATION OF DOORGA POOJA OR DUSSERA

Where is the real grandeur of the days gone? Are we celebrating it in the same spirit today? Alas! No! As the saying goes, « The servitude that lasts for generations ends by becoming habit ». As for instance; the people of India are not a bit stirred up by the assassination of Ferrer. It is true that we are far away from Spain, but tyranny is tyranny and torture is torture wherever applied. It is the one touch of nature which makes the whole world kion. If we love liberty, we ought to have been suffering with those who suffer in the cause of liberty. It is true that all the symptoms which appear previous to a great change exist and are daily increasing in India. Bandé Mâtaram. But the question is, as the commencement of all education for all children — male and female — do we kindle a genuine love of liberty? Fragments of liberty are so much sought and looked for alternately by the Moderates and the Extremists. They forget that perfect independence should be a conquest and it can never be a bequest.

Democratie enthusiam is always called madness by those who are not prepared for sufferings! Suffering is not an evil, since it stimulates and purifies! As Mazzini says, « A naturally yielding disposition and fear — these are the causes which blunt or corrupt the weak conscience of many, and they are crying. Peace, Peace! when there is no peace possible. They fear fatigue, they fear struggle, they fear everything — but that which is really fearful. No! Our lips shall not be mute while the country is overshadowed by the danger of death! »

Faith demands action, the power of sacrifice! In George Sand's words, « We are in the midst of the ocean; the very billows that affright you, forward you on your way, and you have strength enougth to rule it if you persist; but let your arm drop, your energy relax for a moment, and you are carried back to the point from which you departed or you are swallowed up in the depth. »

A great enterprise requires the martyrdom of a life in individuals as well as in nations. All great and honourable actions must be undertaken and overcome with proportionate courage. « Under a government which imprisons unjustly, the true place for a just one is the prison. That is the only house where a free man or woman can abide with honour. »

How much more eloquently and effectually one can combat injustice in the company of people who have the experience of injustice in their own cases?

The body can be punished, but the mind can go on all the better for it. The laws are the formula in which the condition of the country can be summed. The laws are the mirror: and revolution against despotic authorities is in itself a virtue. Then, let us add to that great, eternal virtue of self-sacrifice!

It is high time to transform theories into acts. Without going into water, who can swim? The depth of the popular feeling may be measured by the ardour shown by women. They have the faculty of inspiring men to the fray and restoring the fortunes of an unequal contest. Call forth this charecteristic at this crisis! Crisis it is; because if we do not shake of the foreign despotism now, India will never be free.

Let us strive and struggle onwards, unconcerned as to when and where the boundary posts of new and better times shall be erected. If we fall in the light, the rear-guard will take our place. Our victory was never more certain than now when our enemies believe that we are exterminated!

America was supposed to be on the verge of a civil war when really it came out more than ever united, and it declared its independence. How the Declaration appeals to-day to the mind, as it did when it was first written as follows : « We hold these truths self-evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that amongst these are Life, Liberty, and Pursuit of Happines; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that wherever any government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government-laying its foundations on such principles and organising its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. »

The representatives of vested interest turn popular prejudice to their own account; and therefore advanced ideas when first broached do not convince more than a small minority. But our advanced ideas are not the property of one individual. They are the product of an abstraction obtained by the co-operation of many individuals, and therefore they cannot be defamed or ridiculed though persecuted. As for persecution, no nation has broken its fetters without scars and bruises. And we cannot complain if we are called upon to prove our manhood or womanhood by sufferings. A higher law than that of mankind will regulate events. « All evil, injustice, is by the nature of it suicidal, and cannot endure. »

It is an exaggeration to say that the Hindus and the Mahomedans will not unite. Both have been groaning together so long under the same tyranny that the edges of their differences have been worn away. Truth is eternal and must triumph sooner or later. Of what avail are the pigmy hand of the English stretched forth to arrest the progress of one-fifth of the human race?

Let us all who love God and Man join their voices and their hearts in the Holy Cause of India's Independence! Bandè Mâtaram!

BHIKAJI RUSTOM CAMA
22nd October, 1909.

BUDDHA'S RELICS

The discovery of Buddha's relics in Northern India has transported us back in imagination to those far-off times when India produced wise and virtuous men and, therefore, enjoyed freedom and happiness. Now, that state of things is only a memory, a dream, a story whose moral is not understood. The Indian people have begged of their foreign rulers to keep the relics within the confines of India instead of giving them away to Buddhist nations. Such an incident rouses a long train of thought in our mind. Is it not humiliating that we have to depend on the sweet will and pleasure of Englishmen for the preservation of the remains of Him who was among the greatest and best of mankind. Again, we clamour for the retention of the sacred ashes in India. But are we worthy of the honour? Why should we give them the stain of our servitude and drag them with us into the mire? Some times, we confess to a secret passing thought that Japan deserves this prize

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for the Buddha-spirit which its people, high and low, rich and poor, have displayed during the last half-a-centurty. How can the Indians guarantee that the relics shall not be exposed to danger from the greed of curiosity of European savants or politicians in future? She is herself under the power of Europeans!

Again, Indians have not discovered these relics. Foreigners have come and unearthed them, while Buddha's own people are wasting their time and talent in indolence, or money-hunting, or ignoble strife. The relics belong to those who found them, not to our lazy countrymen.

But here another idea comes to our mind. Those who believe in the intervention of the dead in human affairs may say that Lord Buddha has shown himself to us in order to recall us to the path that leads to happiness. He has thus presented himself before us in order to teach us how we should live in the present crisis of the nation. To a land plunged in the darkness of avarice and cowardice and ignorance, he has shown his mortal remains-just a glimpse of them, so that the wise may see the light and follow it.

And if there are men and women in India who understand the significance of the message to-day given to India by Bhagavan Buddha in this mystical fashion, then let the relics be preserved in the land which produced the Buddha. For, we may add that they belong not to him who discovered them, but to him who tries to act upon Buddha's teachings. The relics should go to those who have already made Buddha their own in their hearts and minds. So, let New India produce men and women endowed with the Buddha-spirit of self-denial, earnest resolve, and devotion to noble ideals and claim the relics not because that Buddha *was* born in India but on the ground that Buddha *is* present in India now. And as the National Movement has already proved that the spirit of love and self-sacrifice is working among our young men, let Buddha's relics stay with us on condition that we Nationalists should make India free and then illumine the land with the light of love and idealism that shone from the face of Him whose ashes to-day remind us of his message with mute eloquence!

NOTES AND COMMENTS

SENOR FERRER.

The reactionary government of Spain has rivalled the tyrannical bureaucracy of British India in its utter disregard for the primary rights of man Senor Ferrer, the apostle of Light and Progress in benighted Spain, has fallen a victim to the combined forces of autocracy, plutocracy, and clericalism. He taught the people of Spain to strive for the establishment of a free republic and to despise the mediæval relic of constitutional kingship. He taught them to think for themselves and to develope their reason and intellect by a sound secular educational system which should not, be under the soul-killing influence of the Roman Church. And he taught the workers to band themselves together in order to free themselves from the tyranny of the capital. For all this, Ferrer has met an untimely death Republican. Free-thinker, and Socialist — Ferrer was one of the torchbearers of the modern world, a fore-runner of the era of freedom, and enlightenment which is to dawn upon the world. Of him, we can say what Wordsworth wrote of Milton: « His soul was like a star and dwelt apart. » The priest-ridden government of Spain bars the upward progress of the Spanish nation towards light and life as effectually as the British government of India prevents the Indian nation from advancing along the path of culture and progress. And both the organisations of greed and fraud are afraid of losing control of education So, the Indian bureaucracy closes national schools and persecutes their promoters, and the priests of Rome murder the founder of the modern secular schools in Spain. The ways of tyranny are the same all the world over. Force is the great prop. it relies upon. But the day will come when sword shall snap in the hands of those who raise it against the virtuous and innocent. The execution of Ferrer will hasten the end of the abominable barbarous government that rules Spain. « A thinking man is the worst enemy of the devil » said Carlyle and Ferrer has suffered because he was a thinking man Among the many wreaths placed upon the tomb by loving hands from many countries may be numbered one from the far-off Land of the Lotus and the Champak, which we offer in token of our sincere appreciation of his greatness. We shall be inspired by his example to remain true to our ideals and to refuse all compromise, even as Ferrer refused the sacrament in his last moments. Glory to thee, Ferrer, and ever-lasting fame! Free India will cherish thy memory with reverence, Thou Prophet and Martyr of Freedom and Justice!

CURRENT INDIAN POLITICS

That compound of fear, folly, and stupidity which is called « Indian political life » is always assuming strange forms according to the self-interests of the different workers. Our only care should be to keep far from this vile thing and to leave Moderatism to stew in its own juice We condemn the policy of association with Moderates for the sake of holding a united Congress. It is the negation of all wisdom. We tremble for the future of the cause as we read of such things as the Bengal Provincial Conference where Nationalism stooped to meet Moderatism on terms of comradeship. Such unholy alliances can lead only to evil. The gulf that separates us from the Moderates is wider than that which yawned between the early Mahomedans and the Kaffirs or between the Christians and the heathens. Mix not the nectar of Truth with the poison of lying Moderatism! A united Congress is a three days' farce, a tale full of sound and fury signifying nothing. Who would sacrifice the purity, the unity, the new-born ardour, the concentration of effort, the heavenly idealism of our little Nationalist church, our lovely compact of Love and Truth, for the bauble of a « united Congress »? The Bengal Conference passed resolutions in favour of colonial self-government, etc. What Nationalist can then patronise it by his presence? Remember that compromise is the harbinger of death and such co-operation with the Moderates will extinguish the Nationalist party. For,

(1) It will lead them to support resolutions of loyalty and the so-called constitutional agitation.

(2) It will induce them to praise and support the nasty clique of Ghokale et Co.

(3) It will damp the ardour of our youths who cannot understand why we should not work with those whom we really condemn.

(4) It will prevent us from developing our own separate organisation for our liberation.

Let there be no talk of a united Congress We want Unity in Life and Truth. Unity cannot be purchased at the cost of Principle. Moderation represents cowardice and folly; Nationalism stands for wisdom and courage. One must make his choice between the two. In ethics, there is no half-way house between right and wrong. There is no twilight between the Day of Nationalism and the Night of Moderation.

AN APPEAL

We earnestly appeal to our readers to do their best to circulate this paper among their friends and acquaintances in India and elsewhere. It is a duty they owe to their country.

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THE

BANDE MATARAM

A Monthly Organ of Indian Independence

« Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves
Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your libération with diligence. »
(Gautama Buddha).

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OUR STATES

The attention of the Indian patriotic party has recently been directed to the question of our semi-independent states by several circumstances. Some of these principalities have enacted laws against « sedition » to please the Viceroy. Others have prosecuted some ardent nationalists. We take this opportunity of discussing the problem which is very important for the future of India.

The States are the best field of work for us. The patriot should turn his attention to them very earnestly. The independant states of Nepal and other feudatory states are the natural allies of the anti-British party. We look to them as the thirsty traveller in the desert watches the oasis from afar. For it is in these states that something of our honour, our dignity, our national individuality is still preserved. Two-thirds of India is completely under alien control:all vestiges of our sovereignty have been destroyed. The people are mere serfs, depraved bondsmen and dispirited helots, who have not seen a sword during a whole generation. In the states, we have the court, the flag, the coinage, and the administrative machinery which remind us of the happier days gone by. The dead hand of the foreigner is there behind all things, checking all growth and stifling all initiative ; but much remains under our own control. In fact, the states are in the condition to which Napoleon reduced Prussia for a few years.

Why should we work first of all in the states ? First, the people have some of the virtues which spring from self-government. They are not mere slaves of the English. If political science teaches us anything, it is this truth, *that the form of government exercises a paramount influence on the character of the people.* The unfortunate people of British India are overawed and bullied by the British conquerors at every turn. The aristocracy is humbled and cowed down by the local magistrate in court, at the municipal council, and the district board. The middle class is constantly brought into relations of social inferiority in the schools and colleges, and in the public offices, where our young men crowd for employment. The peasant is far away from many of these demoralising influences, but the heavy weight of the tax-gatherers' hand and the omnipotence of the police make him a soulless cringing coward. In these states, there are no English magistrates, no municipal councils presided over by deputy-commissioners, no government and missionary colleges, no English heads of the departments, and no British soldier at all. The disease of foreign influence has not penetrated into their very vitals. In British India, it has entirely sapped and undermined our national life, our literature, our educational system, our modes of living, and our character.

Secondly, for the same reason, the national institutions are more or less intact in the states, though foreigners will destroy them soon if we do not wake up. The national costume, the national langage and literature, the national religion and tradition are all living to-day among the people who do not send their children to the missionary colleges and have no incentive to ape foreign masters. The business of the court is transacted in the national tongue. Hence the national sentiment is keener, the feeling of contempt for the Englishman aud of aversion to foreign ways is much more pronounced than among the down-trodden masses of British India.

Thirdly, the Arms Act does not exercise its sinister baleful influence in the states. It is the badge of slavery, and even the poorest peasant is untainted by this humiliation in the territory which is painted yellow on the map. This circumstance alone reders it necessary for us to work among the states where such good material is found. Cow-killing is a crime there — a fact that keeps up the dignity, self-respect and national feeling of the Hindus.

Fourthly, the policy of our enemies has placed a useful weapon in our hands, which we should not be slow to take advantage of. In 1889, the British government thought that India was altogether dead and that no revival of national feeling was to be feared in the future. So they resolved to plunder the states without openly proclaiming their intentions. They wanted to use the resources of the states for the furtherance of their Imperial schemes. The establishment of the Imperial service troops was the result. These troops are wellequipped, as they are meant to be led to battle on the frontiet. They are led by Indian officiers, and number about 19,000 at present. Now we can outwit the govetnment by spreading patriotic ideas among these soldiers who are under the command of our own officers. The importance of this last fact cannot be over-estimated.

Fifthly, the peasants in the states are not so poor as in British India, as taxation is lighter and there is no economic drain to foreign countries with the exception of a small tribute. There are no large factories run by foreign capitalists, who exploit the cheap labour of the artisans as the government exploits the agricultural industry of the villagers. The message of hope and ambition prea-

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ched by us is more likely to be listened to by these sturdy people than by those who find life a mere burden, whose frame is shattered by repeated famines, and whose home is destitute of even the barest necessaries. It is an important deduction from historical experience that revolutions occur among people who are fairly prosperous and who have, therefore hope and courage and optimism, and not among those who are absolutely depressed and disheartened. The revolution of 1789 broke out in France exactly because the French peasants enjoyed greater freedom and were better off than their neighbours of Germany and Italy in the last quarter of the 18th. century.

For these reasons, our workers should gird up their loins to work in the states. But our methods should undergo a drastic revision. There must be no noise and fuss, no congress or lectures or associations or processions, or even newspapers. All this paraphernalia of propaganda must be left behind as we cross the boundary line between slave-India and half-free India, for the British government is more anxious to prevent the spread of our ideas among the people of the states than among the population of the territory under British rule. They know that the states possess vitality and that a spark can fire that powder magazine.

How then can we work ? Can there be a propaganda without newspapers and lectures and even societies ? Can it be a permanent and effective propaganda ?

In this connection, we must remeber that the modern western methods of propaganda by means of the press and the platform are of very recent date. When Christ sent forth his disciples to preach the gospel to the poor, there were neither newspapers nor books. When Buddha enjoined upon his Bhikkus to spread his Dharma, they did not resort to these modern appliances. The greatest revolutions were all effected before the era of printing. Public meetings were not known in England before the middle of the 18th century, while the Magna Carta dates from 1215 and the petition of Rights from 1628, and Charles I was beheaded in 1649. Those heroes who organised the Revolution of 1857 in India worked without the help of newspapers and demonstrations. We should remember that only one person in ten in India knows how to read and write. Under these circumstances, the efficacy of journals and books is reduced to a minimum. For purposes of propaganda among the vast mass of the population, we must resort to the old-world methods employed by the founders of the great religions. All work must be personal. We must send out wandering friars to the states who should acquire great moral influence over all classes of people. They should not mix themselves up with all sorts of court intrigues or current politics but should devote thomselves to the task of building up the character of the common people and of the leading classes by the example of their noble lives. They should be « wise as serpents and harmless as doves », for many will come to ensnare them in talk. They should teach the people the meaning of the words, Duty — Principle — Public Spirit. They should not be merely political propagandists working only for a revolution, but complete moral teachers who should become the spiritual preceptors of prince and peasant alike. Every man is in need of a spiritual preceptor, and if we can capture the hearts and minds of the people in this fashion, our success is assured.

We shall discuss this subjet at length on some future occasion.

The Cant of the Depressed Classes

One hears so much of the « depressed classes » just now. The repressive measures of the governement have brought these classes into sudden prominence in the speeches of a certain type of politicians. Lala Lajpat Rai has suddenly been reminded of their existence. Mr. Gokale is enamoured of them. Mr. Chowdhuri's heart bleeds for them, Verily, we should congratulate the « depressed classes » on their good luck. We doubt if we should have heard much about them, had it not been for bombs and deportations which have frightened some people into thinking in this audible fashion.

It is all cant, pure and simple. Where were the depressed classes when Lajpat Rai delivered his fiery Benares speech and declared that he was going in for a struggle to the bitter end ? Why did Mr. Gokhale forget them when he issued the first prospectus of his « Servants of India Society » in 1905, which makes no mention of them ? It contains a plea for a purely political propaganda. There was no reference to technical education or any other matter. But in the second propectus issued some time ago, he has divested his society of its purely political character and has introduced « women's education », « elevation of the depressed classes », and « technical education » among its objects. Again, Mr. Chowdhuri gravely assures his hearers that material prosperity leads to freedom — thus putting the cart before the horse. Why has this sudden outburst of affection for the « depressed classes » exhibited itself in so many different quarters ?

The source of all this solicitude for the depressed classes is not love for them but fear of the government. All this talk is calculated to show the authorities that these leaders are trying to divert the attention of our young men from politics and to lead them in to paths of activity which are not frought with danger for the government. These speeches about « the poor of the land » are meant as a sort of premium paid for insurance against deportation and imprisonment. If these politicians were to refrain from making a noise, and merely remained quiet, the government might suspect them of complicity in secret designs. Hence they must be seen doing some thing as an outlet for their patriotism. And the unfortunate pariahs have served as the shield behind which all the timid public men are now taking shelter. Little do the poor people imagine what an ignoble use they are being put to by politicians, who are «depressed » by the turn that events have taken in India !

The cry of the elevation of the poorer classes is merely a device to secure their personal safety and to misdirect the energies of our earnest young men into wrong channels at a time when the campaign for the coming War of Independence ought to occupy all their attention.

What is meant by the « elevation of the depressed classes » ? If it means, as it should, that they should be taught the duties of freemen and enlisted as members of the Revolutionary party, we are entirely in favour of it. For *the first sign of moral reform in an enslaved community is the awakening of a desire for political independence.* The depressed classes can be elevated by learning to be patriotic and to work against their foreign rulers. All ethical or social reformation in a subject people is fruitless and meaningless unless it contributes to their first and greatest need, viz. political enfranchisement.

But if the « elevation of the depressed classes » means that our

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young men should waste their time in teaching them reading and eating with them and walking arm-in-arm with them on the public promenade, without all the time whispering a word about Freedom in their ears or teaching them the great duty of assisting in the expulsion of the foreign rulers of their country, then indeed the depressed classes may remain as they are. For when the house is on fire, there is no time for dusting the corners. And all work which leads young men away from revolutionary activity puts off the day of emancipation and thus injures all the people including the depressed classes, who are a part of the nation.

On all such questions as social reform, elementary education, the elevation of the depressed classes, and the breaking of caste fetters, the Revolution says to all workers what Sri Krishna declared to Arjuna as the test of all right action : «Whatever you do, or eat, or sacrifice, or give, or whatever austerities you perform, O Arjun, offer all that unto me ».

Even so, all that is done in the name of the Goddess of Revolution and is laid at her feet is right and proper at the present time. All else is mere folly. That is the great test.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Mr. GANDHI'S MISSION : An Object Lesson.

We learn with delight that Mr. Gandhi has returned from England without achieving any the slightest success in the « mission » which he was charged with. The Government of the Transvaal has remained obdurate and has refused to grant our people equal rights of immigration with Europeans. Mr. Gandhi has tried that last resource of all timid peplexed victims of British tyranny all the world over, from the chief of Swaziland to M. Gokhale viz. an appeal to England delivered on her own soil. And the South African patriot confesses defeat. He is a disillusioned man now. He ought to go home a sadder and a wiser man.

We think Mr Gandhi is not so mean as most moderate politicians We have reason to believe that he does not belong to the category of Gokhale and his clique. He is not a selfseeking agitator posing as a patriot. He is reputed to bear a spotless personal character. At the same time it is lamentable that such a leader should ruin his cause by grave errors of judgment arising from want of faith and knowledge. Mr Gandhi reiterates the old foolish sentiments of loyalty to the Empire and passive resistance. He advises his followers to lick the foot that kicks them. Mr Gandhi has expressed his ideas in the following words:

« Passive resistance is alone superior to physical force. There is no inherent barrier between Europeans and Indians anywhere. Whatever may have been the motives of the British rulers in India, there is a desire on the part of the nation at large to see that justice is done. It would be a calamity to break the connexion between the English people and the people of India. If we are treated, as we assert our right to be treated, as free men, the connection between the British people and the people of India can be of enormous advantage to the world religiously and therefore socially and politically ».

Did ever any « leader » write more idiotic nonsense than this? We wonder if the writer has taken leave of his senses. One thing cannot be disputed. If he does not know that his words are the product of ignorance, he is a fool and must be pitied.

Who ever read of passive resistance being superior to physical force ? Where is the political philosopher or ethical teacher, ancient or modern, who holds that opinion ? An army of our enemies can kill all passive resisters in South Africa. Mr Gandhi has experienced the result of his compaign of passive resistance. But he seems to have learned nothing and unlearnted nothing.

Mr Gandhi thinks that the connection between India and England should never be severed. He is a slave who hugs his chains. Thus do mean persons, devoid of all self-respect, lower their nation in the eyes of the world ! Mr Gandhi also begins to talk of religion-that last refuge of many weaklings. We know something of religion ; we are deeply interested in it. We fail to see how the continuance of British rule in India can help the religious progress of the world. How can greed and cunning and ruthless cruelty on one side, and servility, fear and poverty on the other, benefit religion ? Religion cannot even live amidst such surroundings.

Mr Gandhi does not realise that he is propounding an Irish bull when he says « if we are treated as freemen ». And pray, why should you be treated as freemen when you exhibit the spirit of a cowardly slave ? Freemen love honour more than life ; freemen risk their lives in the defence of their rights. Freemen love valour and military fame ; freemen speak the truth at all times and neither pray for nor give quarter in the fierce struggle for justice and liberty. When Mr Gandhi displays these qualities of freemen, he may claim the rights of freemen. But then he would not be seen in London cringing before proud Britons. He would be found elsewhere, preaching and preparing for rebellion, like Mazzini, like Ahmed Riza Bey, like all true liberators of nations.

Mr Gandhi says that his countrymen assert their right to be treated as freemen. How has Mr Gandhi asserted any right of that sort ? No man or woman who is not ready to fight for the privileges of a freecitizen can be said to have asserted any right to them. A right results from a duty done. It springs from a corresponding act of self-denial. The Britons in India and in South Africa are ever prepared to shed their blood for the rights they enjoy. Rights cannot be purchased by oratory or passive resistance. The title-deeds of all rights known to History are written in blood. Let Mr Gandhi prepare such a sanguinary scroll and then say that he asserts the right for the honourable treatment of Indians in South Africa. No ; he would drive a cheap bargain. He would not give life for a right ; he would only give words or groans. He cannot have what he wants. To such as Mr Gandhi, Byron addressed his words, pregnant with wisdom :

Hereditary bondsmen ! Know ye not
Who would be free themselves must strike the blow ;
By their right arm the conquest must be wrought !

MALARIA

The Wages of sin is Death

The Malaria Conference which has been convened by the government has elicited from the officials themselves some facts and figures about the prevalence of this malignant disease among the people of India. The Viceroy said : « The number of deaths ascribed to fever in the whole of India has varied during the last ten years from about four millions to four and a half millions per

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annum. Though it is admitted that only a portion of these is due to malaria and though we cannot say with precision what that proportion is, it has been estimated to be from one-fourth to one fifth of the total number of deaths entered in our returns as due to fever. We may therefore take it that malaria is answerable in an ordinary season for about a million deaths in the year. In an exceptional season they have risen to two millions.

...We cannot disguise from ourselves the magnitude of the evil...

...The loss by death is by no means the whole of the evil. There are cases of those who contract the disease but do not die... We have to admit 100 million cases of fever for the last year which were not fatal. It is appalling to think of a suffering and economical loss that such conditions Imply ».

These figures shed a lurid light on the condition of the people under British tyranny? Malaria is not caused by mosquitoes. At any rate, the mosquitoes can only induce an attack of fever; they cannot cause death. What is it that prevents the people from resisting the onslaught of the disease ? Why should they fall easy victims to it and die off like flies at the first touch ? The reason is that the physical stamina of the masses has been deplorably weakened by poverty and under-feeding which result from overtaxation. Like the plague, malaria is the disease of poverty and physical debility that springs from it. Year by year, the strength of the people is impaired on account of the insufficient and unwholesome food they have to consume, as the bulk of their earnings go to swell the pockets of the British rulers. Sir Wm. Hunter said in 1881 that « 70 million people went through life on insufficient food ». Since tben the drain of wealth from India to England has gone on increasing, and today the misery is more widespread than ever. Can we wonder then that the malaria and plague work havoc among the enfeebled and underfed population ?

So much for the misdeeds of the bureaucracy and the dire results of its greed. But we wish to direct the attention of our readers to their duties. Let us ponder over the significance of the deathroll during recent years in India. Nineteen millions of people died of famine; five millions have perished of plague; and now nearly 2 millions a year fall a prey to malaria. The death rate has risen from 24 to 34 per thousand during the last 20 years. Reader, what do these figures represent ? They show you the gradual decay of the physical calibre of our race. They remind you of the blood toll that you pay because you are not free. They constitue for your nation the handwriting on the wall : « Mene, mene, tekel, uphar sen » — « Weighed in the balance and found wanting ! » They mark the beginning of the end.

And will you sit idle and indifferent in the face of all this misery? Will you rejoice that you are confortable and well-to-do and safe amid the general ruin of the common people ? No man with a heart can think of that ghastly holocaust of disease that has turned our fair India into a hell without resolving to put an end to this state of things and wreaking vengeance on our oppressors. Like Chanakya of old, let us make a mighty vow and keep it to the end.

THE PARTITION DAY CELEBRATIONS

All the national political fetes that have been recently instituted are being desecrated by the Moderate politicians. We are surprised that the people allow themselves to be hood-winked in this manner.

The docility of the people only proves that they have not yet got a firm hold on the principles of nationalism and that they possess no strong convictions. They are led hither and thither by every gust of wind that blows. The Partition-Day celebration in Calcutta was, like the 7 th of August demonstration, a tame spiritless affair. No sturdy lover of the Motherland should countenance such proceedings. It appears thatmany Bengal nationalists do not realize that they have a mission to fulfil and a lofty message to preach, for which silence and stern abstinence from all lying propaganda are necessary. We read that there was « unwonted enthusiasm » but that at the same time « the processionists showed great respect for the police commissioner ». Queer kind of enthusiasm this! Again the noisy insincere speechmaker Surendra Nath Banerjee was allowed to utter his vile words, « They were in the field of battle and should fight it out — not with lathis and swords but keeping themselves within the bounds of the law of the land and of moral laws ». Banerjee began as a hero and talked of « fighting it out » but ended like a coward that he is.

Mr A. Chowdhuri introduced irrelevant elements into his speech, referred to the need for work of the « depressed classes » and the necessity of economic revival, and indulged in much claptrap of that sort. We were struck by the similarity between his sentiments and the opinions expressed by Mr Gokhale in his notorious lecture before the Students' Brotherhood at Bombay. When the president of the Partition-Day Celebration talks in the same strain as Mr Gokhale, the Apostle of Slavery and Cowardice, we can judge that these festivals have lost their old meaning and force. We reproduce the words of the two speakers. Mr A. Chowdhuri : « Let us go forth among the poor of the land. Be men, teach and learn little handicrafts. Let each cottage in the land learn some industry. Go forth among the depressed classes and take then by hand. Political power will come in the train of material prosperity. Organize a system of universal education ».

Mr G. K. Gokhale : « The elevation of the depressed classes... universal education, improvement of the economic condition of the peasantry... spread of industrial and technical education and the building up of the industrial strengh of the country... these are some of the tasks wich lie in front of us ».

Mr Chowdhuri and Mr Gokhale both seen to be afraid of politics. We think that these Partition-Day meetings are now a public nuisance and should be avoided by honest men. Let us part with these « celebtations » and « demonstrations » without regret

« For who would keep an ancient form,
Through which the spirit breathes no mote ? »

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THE
BANDE MATARAM
A Monthly Organ of Indian Independence

« Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves
Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your libération with diligence. »
(Gautama Buddha).

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GERMANY AND ENGLAND

India's Opportunity and Her Duty

« The god loves to cut down all towering things ; the god suffers none but himself to be haughty. Rash haste ever goes before a fall ». These are the words which Thucydides, the Greek historian, puts in the mouth of Xerxes' uncle, when the latter dissuades his nephew from the attack on Greece. And they are words of wisdom. History bears witness to their truth ; each age sees their meaning illustrated the great events. Not a century has passed when they have not been recalled to the memory of Mankind by the fall of empires and the vicissitudes of fortune in the lives of powerful men on the world's stage.

At the present moment, we see their application in the catastrophe which hangs over the British empire like a Damocle's sword. The days of that empire are numbered ; the handwriting on the wall is plainly visible to friend and foe alike. The British people are panic-stricken and mad with rage and despair. Can they avert their doom ?

Germany is rising on the political horizon as a naval power destined to challenge England's supremacy on the seas. She is silently equipping herself for the combat. One Dreadnought after another is being launched. The weapon is being forged to humble the pride of Britain. Will she succeed ?

The issue involved in the duel is engaging the attention of all serious persons in the world. When two great powers like Germany and England are the rival parties in the struggle, the consequences will be far-reaching, and every country in the world wiil be affected by them. It will be a veritable Mahâbhârata, and other nations will prhably join the fray as partisans on one side or the other. The questions for us are the following :

What chance is there of Germany's success in the war ?

What is our duty as determined enemies of the British empire ?

I. As regards the first question, a dogmatic answer cannot be given. It may give us pleasure to imagine that Germany's success is assured and that our tyrants are near their destruction. But the problem is by no means simple. The antagonists are pretty nearly equally matched. There is no overwhelming superiority on one side or the other, as a critical analysis of all the factors involved in the situation will clearly demonstrate. We cannot venture on a prophecy at present. We may wish success to Germany, but that is not a scientific process of reasoning. As to the revival of German national energy and the future destiny of the German people as a great and progressive nation, there can be no doubt in the mind of a well-informed student of history. Since the middle of the 18th century, Germany has been making rapid progress in all directions. One of the surest signs of national greatness is the existence in the country of wise and great men who are leaders in thought and action. It is a historical law that national revival is always many-sided. It is never confined to one department of human activity. It is impossible to find a nation which should be great in war and politics but backward in other arts and sciences. As a man's whole system is renewed and restored to vigour after illness, so a nation's awakening after a long period of torpor and decadence exhibits itself in strenuous activity in all branches of human endeavour. What is really meant by « national revival ? » If we think for a moment, we shall find that it signifies a change in the general view of life. When a people live like-animals on the physical plane, merely eating and drinking and sleeping and breeding, they are said to be décadent. When they begin to live on the moral and mental planes of existence and develop their intellect and conscience by the pursuit of knowledge and virtue, they are called a living nation. Now, the development of the Intellect and conscience produces sages, philosophers, politicians, scientists, poets, generals, and eminent workers for the public good. An all-round awakening is the unmistakable sign of coming national greatness. A gifted adventurer like Chenghiz Khan may lead a people to mere political power for a decade, but a nation cannot continue to excel in arts and sciences for a whole century without possessing a fund of moral energy which must also make it a strong power in politics. As trees begin to put forth buds and blossoms in spring, so a national revival is marked by the appearance of great men.

In Germany, this many-sided activity has been manifesting itself for a century and more. It is curious that Germany should be the foremost country in the world to-day in all scientific research and literary performance. No man can acquire a thorough knowledge of botany or geology, English history or Saracenic civilisation, metaphysics or political economy, Oriental philosophy or prehistoric anthropology without a knowledge of the German language! This phenomenon can enable the student of sociology to predict

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Germany's coming greatness. Almost all the best books on science have been translated into English from German. Again, Germany has produced great philosophers like Kant, Hegel, and Schopenhauer; famous historians and economists like Rosscher, Ranke, Mommsen, Marx, Neibuhr, and List; and eminant scientists like Haeckel, Sachs, and others. She has given to the world Goethe, the « Soul of the Century », the greatest mind of the modern world.

Germany's political history has also been a record of unbroken success for many years. Shedefeated France in 1870 and Austria in 1866. Her people are drilled and disciplined like a batallion. She is far in advance of England in aviation. England has no conscription, and her working claeses live amid much more unwholesome surroundings than in Germany. The population and wealth of Germany have been increasing rapidly in the last twenty years. Numerically, she has the advantage over England.

On the other hand, one must not omit the consideration of the strong points of England. England is richer than Germany, and the vast resources of India and Africa are at her command. Her intellectual contribution to civilisation is also immense. Darwin, Mill, Spencer, Cobden, Browning, Meredith, Kelvin, and Stevenson, were all Englishmen. She has a vast fund of moral energy which is by no means exhausted. Her missonaries are found in the deserts of Rajputana and by the swamps of Tanganyika — worthy symbols of England's social capacity. Mere numbers do not count in politics and the disparity in numerical strength is not excessive. England has ben trained in the art of local and national self-government for over 700 years, while Germany is just emerging from the stage of benevolent despotism in internal affairs. This point is very important. The Germans date their constitutional regime only from the middle of the 19th century, whereas England has enjoyed popular government for over five centuries. In Germany, the government does too much for the people. As a consequence, the individual German must lack the qualities of initiative and resourcefulness. Of course, the German cannot at once obtain the moral training which comes from centuries of self-government. Here the Englishman has a distinct advantage. He represents a more advanced type of society; he is ahead of the German in social evolution. In Germany, the State overshadows the individual; the evil was remedied in England long ago. England has no conscription, but Germany has no real local self-government. Conscription makes the soldier, but liberty makes the man. And the final issue in long and decisive international duels depends not on the quality of the mere soldier as such but on that of the man as a moral member of the social organism. Further a part of Germany is under theinfluence of the Roman Church — a fact which seriously handicaps her in the race, for that Church is notoriously adverse to national efficiency and enlightenment. This generalisation is now part of the universally accepted maxims of comparative sociology.

Again, it is an open secret that Germany's colonial policy in Africa has been a failure. She has not been able to manage and develop a small strip of territory in Africa. Surely, this is not a very promising beginning for a nation that aspires to the rank of an imperial Power. England's colonial policy has been uniformly successful in all parts of the world.

Finally, there is a phenomenon of European history which seems to favour Germany. We cannot account for it; but in European history, every nation has had a short lease of power. Portugal, Spain, France, and Holland have been great maritime powers at one time or other in the last few centuries. But all have lost their glory and pride. Now, why should England be an exception to this rule? The 16th century saw the greatness of Spain: the 17th witnessed the rise and fall of Holland; the 17th and, again the 18th were periods of French ascendancy under Louis XIV and Napoleon. The 19th century has seen the rise and growth of the British Empire. It appears that the sequence of events points to Germany as the chief power of the 20th century. Of course, this is no argument; it is only a curious speculation.

(To be continued.)

Mr. ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT

The Tragedy of a Mis-spent Life

An amiable proverb teaches us to speak nothing but good of the dead. We are afraid that Duty compels us to disregard the precept on the present occasion. Truth is greater than courtesy to the departed, and we must put on record our estimate of the late Mr R. C. Dutt as a public man, even though we may not be able to say that « we regret to record that he is no more » or that « India has suffered a great loss », or use other conventional phrases of that sort. In India, Mr Dutt has been praised and held up as a model for the admiration of our young men in almost all the obituary notices that have appeared in our sand-blind degenerate press. It is proper and necessary that a dissenting voice should also be heard in this chorus of mournful applause.

If we shed a tear over his hearse, it is out of that higher feeling of pity for a mis-used and stunted life, which rises in our heart as we think of the extraordinary gifts which Mr Dutt was endowed with and the mean and ignoble ends to which he applied them. He was born a member of the intellectual aristocracy of the world. He possessed a keen, versatile, and capacious mind. Perhaps no man in modern India has surpassed him in the wonderful many-sidedness of his intellectual attainments. He wielded a facile pen both in English and Bengali. He was a great Sanskrit scholar. He was a profound student of Indian history and Indian economic problems. Such varied and brilliant mental activity raised him far above the level of the common run of makind.

He was born with that rare and precious gift of Intellect which is the second greatest force in human society. But a man is not judged by what he has but by the use he makes of that which he possesses. Alas! Like the majority of his countrymen today, Mr Dutt forgot the great maxim, « From those to whom much is given, much is also expected ». He employed his intellect not for the furtherence of Truth and Righteousness, but for the service of self. And in a land cursed with foreign rule, an able man who wishes to make his intellect the means of acquiring wealth and worldly rank can do so easily and successfully by selling it to the alien oppressors of his people. Thus the service of self led to the service of the government.

Mr Dutt's career illustrates with remarkable clearness the real evil which is destroying our nation. On the one hand, there is a scheming and determined minority of Englishmen well armed and united, who are bent on plundering the three-hundred million peasants of India. On the other hand, there is a minority of land-owners, commercial magnates, and intellectual men who should be the natural leaders of the peasantry, and who should organise and inspire the latter for the good of their country. Instead of doing its duty, this class of rich or able men has agreed to sell its social influence and talents to the English minority in order to secure a share of the plunder which enriches England. Mr Dutt represents the hungry intellectual men of India who are generally born in the middle rank of society and who are anxious to get as much money as they can by the sale of their intellectual gifts. Other representatives of this class are Chandavarkar, Bhandarkar, Dwaraknath Mitter, Mahmud, Bhashyam Iyengar, Gokhale, Mehta.

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Gupta, etc. etc. — who can name them all ? Like worms in stagnant water, such traitors multiply in the morally diseased Indian society.

Mr Dutt served the British government in every way all his life. He prostituted his marvellous mental power by joining the ranks of our enemies. The Mother gave him the sword of Intellect to fight against the Tyrant ; but he, like a matricide, pierced her bosom with it.

Shame and Dishonour sit,
By his grave ever ;
Blessing shall hallow it,
Never, O never !

But the worst remains behind. Indian society has become so servile and stupid that a covetous wretch who agrees to carry out the policy of the British government for filthy lucre is actually honoured by the people ! The Tartars called us 'worshippers of power'. And our ethical standard has fallen so low that we are dazzled by the sight of wealth, and power and rank — no matter how these worldly advantages may have been acquired. The worship of Traitors is a peculiar feature of our society. It gives us great pain to say that the election of such a man to the presidency of the Congress and his subsequent appointment to an exalted office in a Hindu State revealed a strange lack of patriotic sentiment and sound judgment among the large majority of our countrymen. It makes us exclaim, « Mr Dutt was not to blame so much as the society in which he was born and bred up. He could not know better in the midst of such surroundings ».

It is an irony of fate that the man who helped in the destruction of Hindu civilisation during the 19th century should also be the historian of its rise and growth in the past ! The fact shows how little is the inspiring force possessed by our historical traditions and associations. Mr Dutt must have read our history not like a patriot but like a foreign savant for whom it has no moral appeal. His books on Indian economics prove that he did not sin through ignorance. He saw clearly that the land-revenue policy of the government was the cause of famines ; and yet he continued to be the instrument for the execution of the same policy fort a whole life-time. Can we think of lower depths of moral insensibility ? That shows why India is perishing ; and as long as she produces many men like Mr Dutt, she shall serve the foreigner and starve !

Therefore, let young men learn a lesson from Mr Dutt's inglorious career. Let them realise that the British government wants to bribe every clever man in India in order to prevent him from rousing his nation. Let them make a vow never to accept such a bribe in the form of a post, or title, or any other worldly advantage. Let them remember the ancient social rule of the Hindus that a Brahmin must lead a life of poverty and virtue, so that Intellect should not be wasted in mere money-making. Let them learn that intellect is a blessing to society only when it is joined to conscience ; and that in the absence of such a combination, it is merely an evil and a desolating force !

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Mother's Call

The cruel sentences inflicted on our brave comrades in Bengal and Bombay by the government reveal the vindictive spirit of the tyrants in India. They also show the strength of our party and the fear with which we have inspired the enemy. Such barbarous inhumanity is the result of panic.

Baren, Hemchunder Das, Savarkar and other heroic comrades have offered their all at the feet of the Mother. They have realised the highest destiny of human life, which can be attained only through self-sacrifice. Honour to them and eternal glory !

Shall we mourn that our comrades are thus wrested from us ? No ; we shall be proud of them — and, what is more, we will avenge them ! We will lead the Cause for which they are suffering to a glorious issue by our suffering.

And, how can we best avenge them, O my Friends ? Do you feel a storm of righteous indignation shake your heart at the thought of their imprisonment and exile in the prime of life ? Do you feel the glow of passion suffuse your face as you think of the cruel fate of our country, where our best men are exposed to disgrace, suffering and death ? Do you stop for one moment to consider, and say to yourself, « Why should this be so ? How can it be remedied ? What can I do to put an end to this state of things ? How can I avenge my comrades ? »

If your mind is troubled with such questions, we shall tell you the answer. You can avenge your comrades only by filling their place ! The enemy has thinned our ranks. Workers are wanted for carrying on the propaganda. The Mother should not lose her devoted servants. Young men should comé forward to lead lives of poverty and earnest resolve in order the loss sustained by the absence of our comrades may be repaired.

The Mother calls you. She says, « Who will fill the place of Baren, of Hem, of Savarkar, of all my children who have fallem in my service ? » Listen to the call ; overcome the love of wealth and ease ; and carry on the work for which the Martyrs have died !

The Decline of Sanskrit

An Ominous Sympton

The educational system of the British government is one huge machine for demoralising our young men and sapping the foundations of our national life. It has already weakened the great national institutions of language and literature. The publication of this journal in English instead of Hindi or Samskrit is a proof of the evil effects of foreign rule. This step has been rendered necessary on account of the general ignorance of Sanskrit and Hindi which prevails among the « educated » classes. The graduai decay of Samskrit learning is weakening the whole social system and robbing it of its vitality. Samskrit is the key to our national history, and history is the basis of national life. All doubts on the question are set at rest by the following declaration of Mr Justice Richards, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, which occurs in his speech at the last annual Convocation. « The decline in the popularity of Sanskrit continues, I regret to say. In two years, only one candidate has qualified for the M. A. degree. It is not that sufficient and suitable provision for instruction in Sanskrit does not exist nor that scholarships have not been previded on a generous enough scale for poor and meritorious students. I am afraid that the reason forthe decline is that the conditions of modern life offer no adequate reward for proficiency in Oriental classics. It is something of a slur that the Samskrit language of their religious books should have almost ceased to exercise its attraction over the minds of young Hindu scholars. »

It is a sad commentary on the deleterious effects of foreign rule on the national spirit that such a state of things should prevail in the United Provices, the cradle of Samskrit learning and the region of Tirthas like Ayodhya, Hardwar, Prayag, and Benares. There is no remedy for all this but the abolition of British rule, for a foreign government necessarily and inevitably causes the destruction of the national literature and language by producing conditions of life, in which honour and prosperity are acquired only by proficiency in the language and literature of the conquering race. No efforts for the revival of Samskrit will be of any avail so long as the malady of foreign domination affects the body politic. Remove the cause and the symptoms will disapear.

The Government and Technical Scholarships

Our readers will remember that Lord Curzon established six technical scholarships to enable Indian students to learn industrial arts in the West. All newspapers praised this « beneficent »

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measure. Even many hostile critics said that this was a step in the right direction. Everyone was thoroughly delighted. We wondered at the stupidity of the Indian press. We were grieved that not one among a hundred « educated » editors could understand the real significance of this measure. A reasonable man would have argued that the government could not reverse the traditional policy of destroying the Indian industries at this moment, and that the scholarships were therefore a part of the general policy for the exploitation of India. But our public men, being only amateurs in politics, could not look beneath the surface.

The scholarships are not intended to promote Indian manufactures. That object is nowhere in the programme of the British government. They are given with the object of producing a class of cheap assistants, who are required for the working of factories established in India with English capital and controlled by English managers. The establishment of such factories is a step forward in the economic enslavement of India. Political and military conquest makes the Englishman the Kshattriya of India. Intellectual conquest achieved by means of schools and colleges makes him the Brahmin. And finally, economic conquest give him the place of the vaishya. After this consummation, the people of the soil have only the rôle of Sudras to play.

The subject may present some difficulty to those who do not study history and economics. Suffice it to say, on this occasion, that the investment of English capital in factories established in India and managed by Englishmen will increase the drain of wealth from India to England and reduce the artisans to the position of mere serfs of their foreign employers, as the workmen in these factories are Indians. In this way the British capitalist will exploit the cheap labour of our people to enrich himself by utilising the vast natural resources of our country. The tea-plantations of Assam are an exellent illustration. The British people want to establish other industries on similar lines.

Now, just as the English collector of a district requires the services of cheap Indian officials like the Tahsirdar and Patwari, to collect revenue and plunder the agricultural wealth produced by the peasants, so the English capitalist stands in need of cheap Indian assistant engineers and superintendents in order to manage his factory or tea-plantation. The Indian labourers work on starvation-wages to manufacture goods which are sold by the capitalist at a high profit in the world's market. And the students who are sent to England to learn industries are intended to help the English capitalist in this way by superintending his slave plantations. European assistants would be too expensive and could not be employed without lowering the capitalists' profits. Indians cannot compete with the British factory owner, as they have been robbed of all their capital during a century. Besides, rhe growth of any industries in their hands can be checked by legislative enactments. Thus, the only way in which the unfortunate recipients of technical scholarships can earn their livelihood in India will be to seek employment in these factories in which there is already a demand for them. The scholarships are given to create the supply.

We shall explain this question at length later on. On the present occasion. our attention was directed to this very important problem by the following inoffensive-looking piece of news which was published some time ago. « The Upper India Chamber of Commerce, after consultation with the local government, have recommended for preparing and weaving of cotton and treatment of crude alkalies with special reference to the resource of these provinces as the most suitable industries for which technical scholarships should be awarded The Chamber also asks for the progress report of such scholars already sent abroad ».

The government works in concert with the capitalists in order to supply cheap Indian assistants for the particular industries in which English capital is going to be invested or has already been invested. Lors Curzon's remark about administration and exploitation being two sides of the same work could nor receive a better illustration. We can now see that the scholarships are given at the instance of the Chamber of Commerce and for the promotion of their interests.

THE NEW COUNCILS

We do not propose to discuss the regulations for the new councils which have been issued by the government of India. In our opinion, all councils, committees, commissions, schools, colleges, offices, and institutions — of whatever kind or character — which are connected with the British bureaucracy in India are a snare and an abomination. There is no use in wasting our time in pointing out minor defects when we object to the whole thing, « in all its rootsand branches ». Every member of the council will have to take an oath of loyalty to the king of England. This simple provision enables us to judge between the patriotic and the servile public men of India. Our people should boycott in their daily life all members of these councils. The politicians who prefer to attach themselves to the bureaucracy forfeit all right to the esteem and regard of their own people. Let our public men and wealthy leaders choose between false « honour » conferred by the enemy and the amenities of social life in their own community. Excommunication of all members of these councils is our reply to this attempt ot the British government to check the growth of nationalism by offering useless « concessions ». We shall win in the end, as the social boycott is a weapon against which foreign rulers fight in vain.

THE PUNJAB HINDU CONFERENCE

This body was composed largely of pleaders and barristers and was presided over by P. C. Chatter Jeewho had served the government all his life as a pleader and a judge of the Punjab Chief Court. We regret to note that the proceedings were in a large measure disappointing and unsatisfactory.

The president preached loyalty to the British government, and resolutions were passed about the hardships endured by the Hindus in the Punjab during recent years. We sympathise with the idea represented by the name of the conference, namely the promotion of unity and co-operation among the various castes and sects of the Hindus. But the methods of work adopted by the conference are all wrong and will do more harm than good. If there are wise and patriotic Hindus in the Punjab who wish to hold an open assembly every year for the promotion of Hindu unity, we advise them to organise a body on the following lines :

1⁰ The name should be Sabha, Samiti, or any other Hindi word. There is no need to resort to English for a name.

2⁰ It should be composed only of honest men, and all criminal and disrespectable characters should be excluded. On this ground, pleaders, barristers, and government officials should not be allowed to take any part in the proceedings. Those who make money by undermining the Hindu religion have no right to attend a Hindu conference.

3⁰ The conference should avoid all discussion of current political questions. It should confine itself to the task of popularising national history and literature and thus strengthening the foundations of nationalism, on which current political work is only a superstructure. Let it feed the national spirit without meddling with the vexed problems of contemporary politics. For, if it advocates national freedom, it will be suppressed and its partial utility will be nullified ; if it takes refuge in loyalty or constitutional agitation or petition-mongering, it will be shunned by all true patriots as a mischievous institution. There is plenty of good work to be done without openly meddling with politics, and all Hindus — except pleaders, barristers, and government servants — can join hands in the endeavour to spread a knowledge of national history and promote the feeling of social solidarity by means of festivals and other time-honoured institutions of the Hindu people.

If the conference carries out some programme of this kind, it can do good to the nation. As it is at present constituted, we cannot extend our sympathy and support to its propaganda.

AN APPEAL

We earnestly appeal to our readers to do their best to circulate this paper among their friends and acquaintances in India and elsewhere. It is a duty they owe to their country.

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Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your libération with diligence. »
(Gautama Buddha).

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LEO TOLSTOY'S
Letter to a Hindu

We propose to criticise on the present occasion the important and original contribution which the great sage of Yasnya Polyana has recently made to the discussion of Indian freedom. His "Letter to a Hindu" has been published in the *Indian Opinion* by Deshbandhu Gandhi who wishes to adduce the authority of the Russian thinker in support of his own erroneous views on the question of Active Resistance. As many of our readers may not have access to the *Indian Opinion*, we here give a brief summary of the letter containing all its arguments and ideas before we proceed to point out its short-comings and expose its errors.

Tolstoy prefaces his letter with rather incoherent quotations from the Vedas, the New Testament, and the writings of Swami Vivekananda. In the course of his article, he also cites long quotations bearing on the duty of Universal Love and Charity. Tolstoy assures us that "the oppression of a majority by a minority of people and the corruption which flows from it is a phenomenon which... at present is entirely occupying his mind..... In India, we find 200 millions of individuals, highly endowed with spiritual and physical powers, in absolute subjection to a small clique composed of persons utterly alien in thought and aspiration and alltogether inferior to those whom they enslave." The causes of this phenomenon consist "in the absence of a rational religious teaching which, uniformly elucidating for Mankind the meaning of life, would define the supreme law of guidance of conduct and in the substitution for the one and the other of the more than dubious propositions of a false religion and a false science and in the immoral conclusions called civilisation derived from both." Indian leaders neglect the religious teachings professed by their people.

History shows us that Mankind originally lived in "tribes, clans, and nations in which the majority... has permitted the coercive rule of one or several persons of the minority." But in the course of development, the idea that Love is the universal law emerges in all religions. At first, it is suppressed by the violence of men and the vague manner in which the teachers formulated it. "The truth which is so natural to Humanity that human life should be guided by the spiritual principle which is the foundation of human life and manifests itself in Love" thus suffered "from intentional and unintentional distortions." Men forgot "*the one inevitable condition of love, the enduring of affronts, injuries, all kinds of violence without resisting the evil by evil...* The resistance of evil by violence... is and must be opposed to love." In ancient times, the chief justification of violence was the theory that some kings or oligarchy had divine rights. But violence is justified in modern times in the name of the happiness of the greatest number or of the so called scientific law of the survival of the fittest. These ideas are the precursors of the greatest calamities for Oriental nations, especially for Japan. India has enslaved herself as she believes in the principle of co-ercion in her own society. "*Do not resist evil, but also yourself participate not in evil, in the violent deeds of the administration, of the law-courts, the collection of taxes, and what is more important of the soldiers, and no one in the world will enslave you.....* Scientific appliances and the thousand petty encumbrances of 'civilisation' are not wanted. Only the law of love is sufficient for all."

The above summary faithfully reproduces all the ideas contained in the letter. We wish to say one word about Deshbandhu Gandhi before we comment on the letter. It is extremely disingenuous and dishonest on his part to publish this letter as if it lent any support to his own inconclusive and halting opinions on the Indian problem. Desh. Gandhi takes Tolstoy's name in vain. Tolstoy's ideas are not such as Desh. Gandhi would appreciate. Desh. Gandhi wishes to pose as the admirer of the great man. This proceeding is unworthy of any man of intellectual probity. For Tolstoy does not teach merely that evil is not to be resisted by violence but also that no man should participate in evil and in the violent deeds of governments. He exhorts everyone to detest the calling of a tax-gatherer or a soldier. Now, how can Desh. Gandhi dare associate himself with a gospel of that kind? It does not lie in the mouth of the man who persuaded his people to fight against the Boers as mercenaries under the British flag to introduce Tolstoy's teaching to the Indian public. Desh. Ghandi declares his loyalty to the British empire; but Tolstoy preaches that all empires should be dissolved by the abstention of men from the evil deeds of their rulers. If Tolstoy knew that Desh. Gandhi had taught the Indians to enlist as soldiers on the side of the British in an injust and wicked war of agression against a peaceful nation, he would be the first to repudiate his new disciple. Does Desh. Gandhi believe or preach that the Indian and British soldiers should at once desert the British army in India? Is he ready to take upon himself the responsibility of such teaching? In reality Tolstoy's ideal has more in common with our principles than with those of D. Gandhi. Tolstoy preaches the duty of Dissociation from all governments with all the fervour of an apostle. We do the same with reference to the wicked Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. We differ on one fundamental point, the justifiability of the use of physical force. Desh. Gandhi's plea for non-resistance seems to mean that the Hindus should offer gratuitous violence to the Boers for the profit of rapacious British imperialists but they should not lay violent hands on Englishmen for the sake of the welfare of one fifth of Humanity! This is not Tolstoy's ideal at all. So much for Desh. Gandhi.

As regards Tolstoy's letter, we wish to criticise it in a tone of manly comradeship. Tolstoy is a great man, and perhaps we may be branded as presumptuous for venturing to contradict his teaching. But great men have made ludicrous mistakes ere now. Aristotle defended slavery; even Homer nods. We ask our readers not to be led away into wrong channels of thought merely on account of an illustrious name, but to weigh the arguments on both sides.

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I. Tolstoy's letter abounds in vague generalisations. Who can differ from the dictum that love is the great law of human society? But when one tries to find some definite guidance for conduct in this letter, one is sorely disappointed.

II. Tolstoy's reading of history and religion is erroneous and one-sided. Indeed, he has commmitted mistakes in generalisation which surprise us. It is not true that the origin of human society is to be found in clans in which the minority oppressed the majority. The influence of physical force did not hold these early societies together. It was the social feeling, as expressed in custom, that served as the common bond. Fustel de Coulange says on this point: "Among these peoples, royalty was established naturally, first in the family, later on in the city. It was not contrived by the ambition of a few persons... The kings had no need of material force. They had neither an army nor finance." We refer our readers to the authority of Maine, Mc Lennon, and other experts whose opinion is more weighty than Tolstoy's.

III. Tolstoy is entirely wrong in holding that the great religious teachers have taught the doctrine of non-resistance. We suspect that the whole edifice of misinterpretation rests on Christ's words: "Formerly, it was written 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth But I say unto you, Resist not evil; but to him who smites you on one cheeck offer also the other." We differ from Count Tolstoy as to the precise import of this passage. However that may be Christ also said: " I come not to make peace on earth but to cast a sword." Buddha said to a soldier, Anathapindika, who asked him if his profession was not opposed to virtue: " Struggle there must always be; but let the wise man remember that he should not struggle for self against righteousness." Anb Anathapindika was allowed to serve in the royal army. Mahomed never preached, or practised the absurd principle of non-resistance. The Hindus never dreamed of it. Their law-givers clearly laid down that a clas of people should be set apart for war! Tolstoy quotes a passage from the Vedas on the Unity of God. But he forgets that all the Vedas are one long chant in praise of war and victory. All the Hindu heroes won their spurs by killing some demon or other who tormented humanity! We regret that Tolstoy should have indulged in speculation of this kind in discussing an important ethical question. We affirm with confidence that no religious teacher cited by him can be said to have advocated non-resistance as he understands it. So his theory of the unanimous verdict of all religions in favour of non-resistance falls to the ground.

IV. We do not thank Tolstoy for the compliments which he has paid to the Hindus and the Oriental nations under the impression that "their religious consciousness" is averse to war and the righteous use of force. Such praise is dangerous and undeserved. We do not understand his meaning when he says that the Hindus are superior to those who enslave them and that Japan is going headlong towards ruin because she has learned the secret of national efficiency from Europe. Such strange paradoxes will show our readers that Tolstoy's philosophy is somewhat out of touch with the facts of life.

V. Tolstoy repeats the word LOVE like a charm. But we want something more solid and substantial. Granting that Love is the universal law of life, we ask "How is that love made manifest?" If a man were to shout the formula of love all his life, he would not do much good to the world. Love is a feeling, a sentiment, an emotion; it must reveal itself in word or deed before it can become a regulating social principle. And Tolstoy declares that Love expresses itself in the endurance of affronts and injuries, and the absence of any attempt at resistance on the part of the persons who loves. We join issue here with him. This doctrine is a miserable caricature of Christ's great words on non-resistance. This generalisation does not seem to proceed naturally from the conception of Love which all men hold. We believe that the first and fundamental characteristic of Love is not non-resistance, which can only be a derivative secondary principle even it is admitted in certain cases, but Sacrifice and Beneficence? Love leads one to do the greatest good to others by sacrificing one's own interests. Benevolence and Self-denial are the two great constituents of love. A man may undergo sacrifices from a personal motive and he may do good to others at the expence of his neighbours or without much self-denial. But then he does not love. Both elements must exist where Love rules supreme.

That is the meaning of love as every man understands it. How does the far-fetched theory of non resistance follow immediately from it? We shall take fraternal love as the model and pattern of love of Humanity. All teachers have taught us to love one another "like brethren". Now, how will a man show his deep love for his brother? Do we think that fraternal love is synonymous with the "silent endurance of all injuries?" Or do we not rather believe that it consists in the disposition to do good to our brethren at a great personal sacrifice? Suppose that a man's brother tried to break his head in the morning, to upset all things in the house, to set fire to his office, to tear his bank-notes to pieces, to insult his wife in the rudest manner, to dash his children against a slab of stone and kill them, to inflict all kinds of violence of this nature on him. We do not understand how the persecuted brother would be showing his love for his aggressive relative if he allowed him to pursue his mad career unchecked and never lifted a finger to prevent him from committing the sins that we have described. For, how will such a passive attitude benefit the erring brother? And if non-resistance on the part of the loving brother does no good to the object of that love, how is such conduct the out-come of love? Love would induce the wise brother to do that which should lead the foolish madcap to lead a perfect life of harmonious mental, moral, and physical development. Now, after the violent brother has killed the whole family and destroyed the house, on account of the non-resistance practised by the loving brother, how is the former a stronger, a cleverer, or a nobler man for all that? And if the non-resistance be the product of love?

Love would lead a man not to yield to the caprice of his less advanced neighbours but to endeavour to improve them by his example of active beneficence. That is also our conception of maternal love. If a mother allows her son to beat her and steal her money without attempting to chastise him, we do not say that she loves him but that she is ruining him, because her action make the boy worse than he was before.

Jesus Christ beat the money-changers in the temple with a whip and turned them out by the exercise of the policy of vigorous resistance!

Let us apply the lessons derived from the considerations of fraternal and maternal love to the discussion of humanitarian love. We have only to treat all men as we should treat our own brothers and sisters. We should do them the greatest good that we can. Now in the case of violent men who oppress others. what is the greatest good that we can do them? Is it not this that we should try to reform them? But if we allow them to gratify their lawless passions, how can they be reformed? For as the Bhagavat Gita says, all wicked desires gather force, if they are gratified, as fire blazes up when butter is put on it. Hence the first step towards the moral transformation of violent persons is to establish some method for restraining their malignant activity. This proceeding is their own greatest good, namely their ethical progress. This appetite for violence will die away if no opportunities are present for its gratification. Doctors treats inebriates on the same principle.

This is the first step. Next we should put these unfortunate brethren in the midst of healthy moral surroundings where the company of gentle and noble persons, combined with the influence of their precepts may produce a radical change in the character of the erring sinners.

Then we can be said to love them. Love found a brother man living like a beast, wild, fierce, selfish, and lawless. Love took him away from the scene of his temptations and left him in the end sober, self-restrained, pure, and gentle as a man should be. Can Tolstoy's method produce this change? And if non-resistance produces quite the contrary effect by gratifying the evil passions that lead to violence, how can the unresisting person be said to love his brother?

Now, force may be applied for the first necessary step. To remove our brother from the sphere of his degrading activity and to prevent the evil habits from gaining strength, we may use physical force. For he does not know his own true interests. He is like a child, a patient, or a lunatic. Love lays vio-

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lent hands on him, as a mother may snatch away the cup of poison from the hands of her son by main force to prevrnt him from killing himself.

In the second stage, force is worse than useless. Force can never change a man's heart? Sweetness and moral influence alone are needful.

Further, we have to deal with cases in which the second alternative cannot be employed. Suppose that there is no moral force in the world that can reform a violent man.

Such a contingency is not impossible. The ethical pharmacopia is not infinite. And rhere are some natures that are not susceptible to any moral influence. Or some wrong ideas are so deeprooted in the minds of some persons that no moral force can destroy them. Christ could not reform Judas Escariot and Buddha's love could not conquer the meanness of Devadatta. And there are not many Christs and Buddhas every day in the world? In this case love requires that the first step alone should be taken. The erring brother should be prevented by force from ruining himself morally for ever. He may not be reformed, but he can be checked from going from bad to worse. And how? By means of detention or death.

Now, take the case of foreign rulers in a subject land. False notions of patriotism are so deeply ingrained in the minds of all nations that all the prophets of the world cannot *immediately* eradicate them. Humanity has been taking this poison so long that the ttrongest dose of the antidote cannot once undo its effects. This isa question of practical moral propaganda. The patient cannot be cured by the means at our disposal. Then mere detention will suffice. If that is not practicable death should be dealt out as the gift of love, so that our brother may die at least with some attributes of man and not the brute that he sure become if he is allowed to live on. Hence, love prompts the noblest men to kill their own good. The Roman father did not slay his daughter from hatred! And the RadJput mothers did not put their children on the pyre out of animosity. There are worse than death — and sin and dishonour are among them. When we cannot save a brother by sin by reforming him, we save him by making it impossible for him to sin.

We treat the beasts of prey in a similar fashion. A violent plunderer is not a man but a brute. He cannot be treated like a sociable being. We domesticate animals, we treat them kindly. But we also kill them if they cannot be controlled.

We must also look at the question from the point of view of those who suffer from violence. They too are our brothren. If a man slays many other, our love for the latter leads us to kill him, if he cannot be reformed in any way. Love is not only for the sinner but also for the sufferers. The detention of criminals for purposes of morai reformation does good to both sides. It protects the victims and improves the erring brother. If detention and moral reform are impossible under the circumstances, death is the second best alternative. The worst thing is to let him live. And the very worst imaginable thing would be to let him live according to his will and continue his violent acts as before. This is not love: it is inhumanity.

We hope our exposition of the necessity of tyrannicide, either through individual assassination or through war, as a direct outcome of the principie of Universal Love will be found logical and convincing. We have not brought in tqe doctrine of Nationality, or Social Justice or Retibutive Punishment on the present occasion, as we have tried to discuss the question on the common ground that Tolstoy himself has chosen, viz. The Law of Love.

SRIYUT ARAMINDA GHOSE

On the Situation

We have read with great interest but with some misgivings the "Letter to my countrymen" published in the *Karma Yogin*. It sets forth the outlines of a plan for the reorganisation of the "national party" and also accidentally refers to the ideal which should be cherished by all true patriots. It also presents a tacit attempt to lead the party into lines of activity which are different from those which it has been taught to follow up until now. A declaration like this is of the utmost importance coming, as it does, from one whom even our enemies have compared to Mazzini. We beg to offer a few suggestions with regard to the subject dealt with in this letter.

The future of the party is occupying the thoughts of all patriots at present. The critical period through which we are now passing has given birth in many minds to anxious questionings and much searching of the heart. It is therefore opportune that a profound thinker like Sriyut Arabindo Ghose should have expressed his opinions on the problem of the future programme of the party. We agree with many of the ideas and and sentiments expressed by our eminent compatriot in his letter. We have laid down, ere now as Sriyut Ghose declares, that "from the moderate party, we can expect no cordial co-operation in building it (viz. the future of the nation)", Nay, we have already shown that such co-operation is impossible in the nature of things and should be rejected by us even if it were to be offered. We also hold with Sriyut Ghose that the future of the nation is in our hands and that we should be prepared 'to sacrifice greatly and venture greatly, because the mission also is great'. We are glad to notice that Bengal nationalists, headed by Sriyut Ghose, have realised the folly and futility of carrying on negociations with the Moderates. We rejoice that all nationalists are of one mind now on this important question.

While agreeing with Sriyut Ghose on some points, we beg to enter our emphatic protest against the whole tone and spirit of the article and the policy which it enunciates. With due deference to his views, we feel that it is our bounden duty to repudiate the ideas he has promulgated and the programme that he proposes for the acceptance of all nationalists.

In the first place, we resent the uncourteous and depreciatory references to the party of active resistance and to the exploits of our heroes and martyrs whose names are dearer to us than our very lives. Nationalism has no meaning for us if it prevents us from cherishing the memory of those who have laid down their lives for the freedom of their Motherland. Reverence for the Martyrs in the keystone of Nationalism. That is our badge, our watchword, our warcry. He who speaks one word against them, on whatever occasion it may be, has no part or lot with us. He does not understand the greatness of their sacrifice: he does not comprehend the message of their last moments. We hold these views and it has given us great pain to read things like the following in Sriyut Ghose's letter. "If the nationalists stand back any longer; either the national movement will disappear or the void created wfll be filled by a sinister and violent activity.... Shall we cover behind a petty secrecy?... Not on us will rest the responsibility for the madness which crushes down open and lawful political activity in order to give a desperate and sullen nation into the hands of those fiercely enthusiastic and unscrupulous forces that have risen among us inside and outside India." These insinuations and uncomplimentary references to the heroic group of earnest men and women who are carrying on an unequal struggle against the bureaucracy with unabated enthusiasm and who have to suffer imprisonment, exile, or death for the furtherence of their idea are unworthy of the writer. The party of active resistance is the salt of India. Eliminate it from Indian politics, and nothing remains but cowardly Moderatism or impotent philosophical Passive Resistance. Those who have taught India to kill and be killed for the sake of freedom are the perfect flower of Indian manhood and in them are centred the hopes of the future.

Secondly, we deprecate the idea that nationalists demand or desire any share in the administration controlled by the British people. We do not ask for such concessions. We do not want to remodel or reform the institutions of the bureaucracy. We do not aim at the acquisition of "rights" or "previleges". Sriyut Ghose speaks of Indian liberties. We do not care for the "India liberties" but for the liberty which is the birth-right of every nation. The following paragraph embodies the erroneous doctrine preached in this letter:

"What is it for which we strive? The perfect self-fulfilment of India and the independence which is the condition of self-fulfilment are our ultimate goal. In the meanwhile, such incomplete self government as is possible in less favorable circumstances must be attained as a preliminary to the more distant realisation. What we seek is self-government either through our own institutions or through those provided for us by the law of the land. No such evolution is possible by the latter means without some measure of administrative control. We demand, therefore,... a measure of reform based upon those democratic principles which are ignored in Lord Morley's Reforms,... an effective voice in legislation and finance and some check on an arbitrary executive? Until those demands are granted, we shall use the pressure of that refusal of co-operation which is termed passive resistance, We shall exercise that pressure within the limits allowed us by the law."

All this clap trap must be taken for what it is worth. Why should independence be a sort of "ultimate" goal only? And how can it be achieved? Why should the new reform

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scheme sketched out by Sriyut Ghose be granted? And how will it be obtained through passive resistance? What is the exact measure of control over finance which will put an end to famine and diminish the annual drain of wealth to England? What is to exercise the supreme authority in military and financial affairs? How can the councils proposed by Sriyut Ghose help in the self-development of the nation? How does this strange kind of nationalism differ from Mr. Gokhale's moderatism? Mr. Gokhale also believes in independence as the "ultimate" ideal, and is of opinion that passive resistance even to the extent of refusal to pay taxes, is a legitimate weapon of political agitation. (Vide his Allahabad Speech.) Mr. Gokhale is also dissatisfied with the present reform scheme. If we accepted Sriyut Ghose's interpretation of nationalism, the only difference between the Moderates and the nationalists would be that the latter are more dissatisfied with the reform scheme than the former. It is curious that Sriyut Ghose comes so perilously near the Moderate position and yet lays the dictum that co-operation with the Moderate party is impossible?

Thirdly, we are grieved to note that Sriyut Ghose has fallen into the same error about passive resistance as we have already exposed in these columns. Passive resistance does not mean "refusal of co-operation" with government; it signifies the absence of volontary obedience to the laws passed by the government. No government requires its subjects to co-operate with it; every government exacts obedience to its laws. We have explained this question at length on a former occasion. Now, Sriyut Ghose says that "we shall not break the law; therefore, we need not fear the law." But he who does not break the law can never be a passive resister in any country in the world. And why should "the law of the land" be our diety? Why should we work within the limits allowed by it? Such a programme is self-contradictory and suicidal. For, what is this law which is spoken of as a great regulating principle in nationalist activity? It is simply the will of the bureaucracy; it is the sum total of enactments and ordinances which our enemies have instituted in order to strengthen their position in India. Now, it would be a ridiculous tactical error to resolve to work within the limits allowed us by the sweet will and pleasure of our opponents! The government can pass new laws any day against all forms of political work advocated by Sriyut Ghose. How will the maxim of obedience to the law work in that case? We ask our readers never to forget that "agitation within the limits of law" simply means "constitutional agitation", and nothing more. That is the very definition of constitutional agitation all over the world. So, in effect, Sriyut Ghose's letter brings the nationalist party to the old, old system of constitutional agitation in a peaceful way for obtaining certain "demands" which are supposed to be necessary for some little "self-development" during the period which must elapse between the present and the era of Independence. This last is religated to the distant future as an "ultimate ideal". Now, it is not for this lame and impotent conclusion that the nationalists have striven for the past five years with fierce enthusiasm. We have not wandered in the wilderness of suffering and sorrow to be led to this sort of promised land.

Fourthly, the constructive programme sketched out by Sriyut Ghose shows that he imagines that India is still where she was in 1906. He does not wish to make any advance on the old nationalist position of 1906. But we should remember that much water has flowed under the bridge since then. Open, peaceful organisation on national lines is no longer possible now, for the battle of bombs has already begun. The preparatory training given by national education or communal arbitration cannot be availed of to the same extent as before; for the government is on the alert and nationalism has outgrown the period of infancy. This change has upset the calculations of many a political worker. Now, we must remodel our plans on advanced lines, for

New occasions teach new duties; Time
Makes ancient good uncouth,
They must upward, still, and onward,
Who would keep abreast of Truth.

The repressive policy of the government shows us clearly that the days of Samitis, processions and open demonstrations are gone by. The struggle has entered on another phase. Silence, secrecy, and steady propaganda are now our watchwords. Besides, how can arbitration be a success before the establishment of a free state? Who is to execute the orders of such a court? How long will such a system work? The English who have destroyed the old judicial institutions of the villages will not let the same things grow up again under new names. All these things come after, and not before, Independence.

Deshbandhu Arabindo, your name is a tower of strength to all workers. We do not know what is passing in your mind at present. Great men have their own inner trials tribulations which is not given to their neighbours to fathom. But, we believe that you yourself realise the insufficiancy and futility of the programme you have outlined. If this letter embodies your real ideas and opinions, we ask you to reconsider the question, to ponder on the lessons of history and the needs of your country, and to arrive at conclusions worthy of your intellect and of the cause to which you have devoted your noble life. But if this policy does not represent your deepest convictions and your noblest ideals we pray you to reject all considerations that may have induced you to put your name to a manifesto which is mischievous and dangerous in the extreme. We know you are not the man to practise hypocracy for fear of personal suffering or from any other personnal motive. You have laid down your all for the service of the people, and nothing can turn you aside from the path of Duty. So, we conclude that perhaps you have judged it expedient in the interests of the country to advise the adoption of the policy enunciated in the letter. Perhaps, you think that the people can not understand great ideals; perhaps you are afraid that you would be unable to find any colleagues in India if you refused to compromise your principle in this manner. Perhaps you fancy that a moderate and safe programme which can be openly adopted will rally those nationalists who are not willing to work with Moderates but who are at the same time nor prepared to support secret activity of the right kind though they sympathise with it. Perhaps you are trying to take the wind out of the sails of the Moderate party by offering to the people a so-called nationalist programme which combines the advantages of the Moderate politics, namely — safety and publicity. We may be excused for indulging in these surmises, but we cannot really know what is passing in your mind at the present moment.

If you are animated by hopes of this kind in lowering the flag of Nationalism, we ask you to remember that it is our duty to raise the nation to the level of nationalism — and not to drag the latter in the mire to flatter the prejudices of the ignorant mob. Consider that Truth will triumph only if we remain faithful to it in the dark days of persecution and perplexity.

We do not know if you will consider our appeal. We only express our profound conviction that the straight path is the shortest; though we may not see whither it leads; and that if any man follows it, then, wherever he may live

"At last, far off, sometimes, somewhere,
The veil would lift for his deep searching eyes
The road would open for his painful feet
That would be won for which he lost the world
And Death will find him conquerer of Death"

NOTES & COMMENTS

The TALVAR

We have much pleasure in welcoming into the fields of Indian Revolutionary journalism an excellent new monthly journal bearing the very inspiring and expressive name of the Talvar. The policy and the aims of the paper can be judged from the fact that a photo of our beloved martyr Dhingra adorns the first page of each issue. The journal is a most welcome addition to the Indian nationalist Press at the present juncture when the repressive policy of the enemy have stifled the free expression of opinion in India, and the publication of newspapers in Europe and elsewhere has become a necessary part of our propraganda. The TALVAR has made its appearance in Berlin, the capital of the country which is at present most hostile in spirit to England. We congratulate our comrades on their choice. The arm of the British empire cannot reach them in that haven of refuge, and the cultivation of friendly relations with the powerful German nation will be of great advantage to the cause of Indian Independance.

The two issues of the magazine that we have received have been edited with great ability and judgment. The bold note of sincere patriotism is struck in every article. The programme of Active Resistance with political assassination as a prelude is advocated with splendid earnestness.

There is no trace of any inclination towards compromise or hypocrisy in any of its pronouncements. We especially commend to the attention of our readers the admirable article on political assassination in the second number which deserves careful perusal. We hope and trust that the journal will have a long and useful career and that it will continue to render substantial service to the country till India is free, and after.

An Appeal

We earnestly request our readers to circulate this journal to friends in India and elsewhere. We also request them to let us know when they *change their address* and to inform us if they wish to recieve *more or less copies*.

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THE

BANDE MATARAM

A Monthly Organ of Indian Independence

« Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves
Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your libération with diligence. »
(Gautama Buddha).

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The Situation

A Confession of defeat. A Landmark in the History of the Movement.

The new press act and the speeches recently delivered by the viceroy and the provincial governors of British India on the suppression of terrorist activity in India constitute a landmark in the history of Nationalism. We declared in the first issue of this journal that, in spite of the losses that our party has suffered, the victory in the first skirmish with the enemy remained in our hands. Many of our leaders might have found it difficult to believe our words then. They might have thought that we were playing a game of bluff or flattering our own vanity by putting forward this view of the situation. But now, even the least sagacious observers can percieve that the Revolutionary party has come off with flying colours in the five years' struggle that we have had. For, what can be a more conclusive proof of our triumph than the testimony of the enemy? We may praise ourselves out of a natural weakness of the human heart, but our opponents will not pay a tribute to our energy and power unless they are compelled to make a confession of defeat by sheer force of circumstances. Now the enactment of the press law is clearly a confession of defeat. The government is at its wits' end. Perplexed and panic-striken, it casts about in vain for some new weapon with which to fight us. Every new repressive measure is a tribute to the efficiency of our party ; for, as we have said on a former occasion, the measure of our strength is the fear that we inspire in the hearts of our enemies. A weak antagonost is despised, but a strong one is dreaded. It is sweeter than a thousand strains of loveliest music for the ears of a patriot to listen to the wail of despair that rises from the lips of the tyrants as they contemplate the failure of their devices. Herbert Risley is the man who boasted in 1907 that " he was not afraid of driving sedition underground ". And now, he says in a plaintive tone. " To the end of last year, although successful prosecutions has been undertaken under these orders, the then law proved insufficient to restrain sedition ". This cry of impotent rage is a lyric in praise of the New Spirit in India.

The second sign of weakness exhibited by the government is its action in soliciting the help of the Indian princes in the suppression of " sedition ". Could there be a more humiliating situation for the " rulers " of an empire who are always boasting of their strength than the predicament in which they find themselves today ? These princes are the men whom the English are bullying, humbling, and mal treating in every way. They have been made to figure as vassals in the Roman triumph of Lord Curzon. Their powers and rights are whittled down on the slightest pretext. And now, the lordly masters of India, the august representatives of the suzerain, go down on their knees before their " feudatories " and confess that the Bristish administration which pretends to assure to the princes the safety of their thrones and lives cannot cope with the machinations of a small band of revolutionaries in its own territories ! What a reduction ad absurdum of the theory of the protecting sovereign power ! The " protecting " power begs for protection against its enemies. The irony of the situation cannot escape the attention of the most casual observer. The princes may well reply that the tenor of the treaties which they had concluded presupposed that the " sovereign power " could not only maintain its own authority and prestige but also of the vassals, of ist own unaided efforts. If this postulate is not valid, the whole scheme of the " Indian protectorate " gives way. If the Bristish government stands in need of the assistance of its feudatories for the comparatively easy work of keeping order within the empire, how can they be sure that it can protect them and itself agaist the much graver perils of foreign aggression ? The bankruptcy of British statesmanship in India is made manifest in a ludicrous manner. And the princes will not be slow to see which way the wind is blowing. They will no longer regard the Bristish government with the feeling of awe and respect which they have hitherto entertained towards it.

But the third sign of the incompetence of th. British government and the triumph of nationalism is the pitiful appeal that has been made by the viceroy and the provincial governors, for the co-operation of the Indian people in task of extirpating revolutionary ideas. The viceroy's words breathe a note of despair, of humble pride, of doubt and fear and dismay. "We are face to face" says he "with an anarchical conspiracy, waging war against the British and Indian communities alike, and it will be a long time before we can extirminate the evil unless those communities agree to work together hand in hand... We cannot for an instant disregard the probability we are determined to combat with all the weapons at our disposal."

These words are remarkable as embodying a lie, a confession of defeat, and a vain threat at the same time. The lie consists in the satement that the revolutionary party "wages war against the Indian community". This innuendo must bring a smile to the lips of all who read it. Surely, the viceroy thinks that the Indian people are a nation of fools. The revolutionists are the champions of the people against their oppressors. But there is one section of the community against which we are bitter as against the British settlers in India. In fact, this section of our own people

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is even more odious in our eyes than the foreigners. And it comprises in its ranks all those who actively and deliberately help the British government in any part of its work — executive, judicial, financial, or other. Whoever serves the tyrants for filthy lucre is a traitor and a villain, and he must not expect mercy at our hands. This is the only community that need fear any violence on the part of the Revolutionary party.

We have exposed the lie. Now let us look at the confession of defeat. The appeal to the people clearly means that the resources of the British administration are exhausted. That vast and imposing machinery of courts and prisons and gendarmes and detectives provided with all the power that the vindictive spirit of an irresponsible tyrant could bestow on it by means of penal and criminal procedure codes has not been able to check revolutionary activity or crush out the ideas that lead to it. The head of the administration accuses it of inefficiency. The government humbly acknowledges its inability to cope with us. In 1905, it set out in all the flush of ignorant pride to crush the mild form of nationalism that flourished at that time. It thought that it was all very easy work. Step by step, it exerted all its power to achieve its end. And now, after five years of deportations, mock trials, suppresion of newspapers, confiscation of presses, flogging of boys, house searches, prohibition of public meetings and religious processions and all devices that malice could suggest and treachery execute, what do we find? We find that the administration openly proclains its failure! The viceroy says that it will take "a long time" to crush this movement and that, in spite of every effort on the part of the government, its activity will continue unabated.

The British rulers often put forward as a plea for their dominion in India that they maintain peace and order. The "Pax Britannica" is held out to the people as a great boon that should reconcile them to foreign rule. But now it appears that even that consolation cannot be talked of. The government confesses that it has been defeated for the present. It only hopes to deal with us after "a long time". WE SHALL SEE!

After the confession of defeat comes the threat uttered by the Viceroy. "All the weapons at the disposal of the government" are to be used against us. We only smile at the idea! What weapon is now left in the armoury of the government to employ? It has done its worst and failed. We do not ear such idle threats.

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We can therefore rightly describe the present juncture as constituting a landmark in the history of the party. Having explained the significance of the measures taken by the government, we wish to address a few words to our comrades in all parts of the world. Let us take stock of our position and bear a few leading ideas in mind for our guidance during the next few years.

a). We are justified in casting away all anxiety about the future of the cause. As things stand at present, there is no occasion for self-depreciation or despair. For press laws cannot affect our work now. Revolutionary journals and books are printed abroad. We are above all press laws. The new press law can only affect such nationalist papers as can be printed in India. With such papers, we have as a general rule little sympathy. For almost all of them revile our martyrs and condemn active resistance though they write articles on Swaraj, boycott, and national education in a patriotic spirit. But such inconsistent and timid organs are of no value. They are even mischievous. They cannot inspire anybody with courage and zeal. They really murder nationalism and we do not want such friends. So the new press laws cannot do us much harm. The pure and bold revolutionary journals which alone are necessary and useful are at present printed outside India. If secret presses later on become numerous in India itself, we shall have to consider our line of defence. But the press laws that apply to openly circulated journals have no terror for us.

Nor can the appeal for the cooperation of the people give us a moment's anxious thought. For the people hate the very name of Feringhi. They may pass resolutions at a meeting, but that does not count. Again, even if some treacherous and timid persons help the government, how can they be of any use in preventing the murder of English officials? The governor of Bombay complained that loyal subjects did not co-operate with the police to arrest the man who threw the bomb at the Viceroy at Ahmedabad. Even if this sort of co-operation is forthcoming, we have no anxiety. For as a rule our heroes do not try to escape after killing a tyrant. In the majority of cases, it is even impossible for them to escape. They come prepared for death. But how can any man prevent the murder of the tyrants by helping to arrest our hero after the act? The deed is done and all the traitors in India cannot bring back the dead to life. We cannot understand how the co-operation of the people, not already belonging to the police department, can save the lives of English officials in India. Our heroes emerge from the recesses of the mysterious Oriental society and pounce on their victim. How can they be thwarted?

The wind bloweth where it listeth, and no man knows whence it cometh and whither it goeth. You may as well ask the people to co-operate in preventing earthquakes or cyclones.

b). At present we must recognise that the importation of revolutionary literature into India from foreign countries is the sheet anchor of the party. It keeps up the spirit of all young men and assures them that this party is living. We must therefore try to strengthen all groups of workers outside India. The centre of gravity of political work has shifted from Calcutta, Poona, and Lahore to Paris, Geneva, Berlin, London, and New-York. The Wahabbi conspiracy of 1862 was more formidable in its scope and organisation than our movement. But it was completely crushed because there was no centre in foreign countries where the work could be carried on during the period of persecution. And not a vestige of Wahabbism is left now. Hence we must take this lesson to heart that, if we desire to hear of more murders of English officials as a token of the progress and vitality of the party, we must strengthen and establish centres of work in many foreign countries.

c). We must also cultivate the habits of reticence and prudence. At present there seem to be defects of organisation, that lead to needless waste of workers and material. If we exercise judgment and caution in the choice of comrades and in the devising of rules of organisation, the future success of the party is assured. We must think on this point now.

d). The training of preachers is absolutely necessary at this stage if we wish to make the movement permanent and powerful. While speaking of Truth and Justice, we must not forget that they cannot triumph without devoted servants. An organised body of capable preachers must be established and opportunities for their education must be found abroad. We look upon this work as one of paramount importance and urgency. Without missionaries, the work of martyrs cannot bear fruit. Missionaries keep alive the names of the martyrs; they carry on the work from one stage to another, sustained and inspired by the example of the martyrs. Unless we take in hand the work of training our missionaries, the martyrs will be forgotten after the lapse of time and all the advantages gained up till now will be lost. Calvin established a seminary for training Protestant preachers in Switzerland whom he sent to France for furthering the cause. The 'moderates' possess a formidable institution in the Servants of India Society at Poona, and unless we look to our laurels the young men of India will be misled and captivated by the zealous though misguided members of that society. All the earnestness and ardour evoked by the heroic exploits of our martyrs will remain

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unutilised if we do not devise some means to take advantage of it by creating a missionary organisation. Mrs. Besant is trying to exploit the enthousiasm of our youths by forming the Sons of India Society. If we fail in our duty through indolence or niggardliness, Gokhale and Mrs. Besant will direct the energies of our young men into wrong channels and we shall chafe and fret in vain. Money and talent are required for this work.

There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune :
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.

e). The circulation of revolutionary leaflets, journals and manifestos should be looked upon as a *sacred* duty by all patriots. We are not exaggerating the importance of this work when we use this expression. Literature is the very life-blood of the party and the government will now redouble its vigilance in intercepting parcels and examining letters sent to India from abroad. Every young man should therefore exert himself to the utmost in this direction. Let us look upon every leaf of revolutionary literature with, almost superstitious veneration and try to mahe it reach India by every means in our power. For it is the seed of life for our people and must fall on good soil to bear fruit a hundredfold and a thousand-fold.

Remember that we are at a turning point in the history of nationalism. The record of work done until now has been a marvel of self-sacrifice and heroism. If we are true to ourselves and provide for the future in a spirit of earnest self-denial and farsightedness, nothing on earth can prevent us from winning the final victory.

P. S.

Swadeshis, I ask your permission to add this little note to the article written by one of our comrades :

Let me draw your attention to the fact that the tyrant is howling in despair like the black bat at the sight of dawn.

Princes and peoples of India, do not heed this cry ! Kick him off ! Turn your back to him lest some you should fall into the snare... the side trap which he is setting forth for you. Let your delusion be over about his strength, as he is clutching shamefully and helplessly to you (to his very victims).

Be sure he knew his downfall long before he made this confession. For instance, Curzon-Wyllie said to an Indian gentleman just a few hours ere he fell : "One shudders to think what will be the position in India in five years !" Remember that he was at the head of the spying business and he must have learnt something of our rising forces.

Now, Comrades, Sympathisers, and Friends and all countrymen, it is our turn to learn the secret i. e. THE STRENGTH THAT LIES IN OURSELVES ! Let us grasp the situation and march forward with all our energy. Let our watchword be *action* and self-sacrifice. Let us work hard and unceasingly and combine our forces !

Men and Women of India ! Come out ! Come ! Walk into the folds of the secret revolutionnary societies by thousands every day. A complete overthrow of the infamous traitors and the immoral foreigners is within sight. Swadeshis ! Keep your faith in your compatriots (the Revolutionaries) who are working with the best of intentions for the deliverance of your Motherland. They have the highest ideal before them : the Cause of Justice, Truth, and Liberty. They are the inspired ones!

They are neither anarchists nor nihilists ! They are simply following the footsteps of Guru Govind Singhji, Shivaji, Washington, and Mazzini. They will not touch even the breadth of your hair nor your wives and your children. Their goal is peace and plenty, law and order. The traitors and tyrants are the only marked men in their list. And they strive for driving out the lawless foreigners who is calling every tyrannical measure a law.

My generation will be slumbering by the time that the land we love will be great again ! However many amongst us will hear of its freedom with our last breath, while you, Young India, you will have a share in that greatness. The realm will be yours and your children are sure to be one of the mightiest nations on the face of the earth.

Bande Mâtaram

BHIKHAJI RUSTOM CAMA

The Truth about "Local Self-Government"

Municipalities and District Boards were established in order to get more money out of the people under the pretence that it was to be expended for local purposes and by representatives chosen by the taxpayers. It was intended that the community should be deceived by means of different names and methods of collection into believing that it paid to the foreign rulers less than it actually did. The device of associating the local leaders in the work of taxing the people was adopted in order to soften the feeling of resentment against new taxation, which must always be unpopular. It was as if a man were to put his hands into my pocket, saying : "With your permisssion, Sir, and I am at your service always." The municipal councils, the elaborate scheme of election, the separation of "Local" from "Imperial" funds were all so many devices for concealing from the people the disagreable fact that they were being made to pay new taxes to Government. They were meant to allay discontent and delude the nation.

In fact, the significance of the measure was perceived by all sensible men when it was introduced.

A famous Bengal publicist Babu S. C. Sarvadhicari, in a speach in 1892, said : "With regard to the imposition of the local rate, it is observable that the widely felt expressions of national rejoycings which the noble Resolution has evoked will be certainly put to a dead lock, if *the people are to learn that they are to buy this small concession of political freedom at the expense of their pockets.*"

We know that there was no "concession of political freedom" in the scheme, but the pockets of the people were certainly touched.

The establishment of municipalities was also dictated by the same considerations as prompted the government to admit Indians to the lower grades of the public service. Government wanted to secure men who would do its work without asking any remuneration for it. In 1884, the finances of the government were seriously embarrassed. The value of silver had been falling ever since 1876 and there had been a consequent increase in the number of rupees which had to be paid for the Home charges. The threatening attitude of Russia beyond the the north-western frontier necessitated an increase in military expenditure. The famine of 1877-8 and the Afghan war of 1878-81 had put a heavy burden on the Exchequer. The limit of taxation had been reached. Mr. John Bright had pointed out as early as 1879 that the imposition of taxes would be a source of politica danger. There were recurring deficits in the Budget. The financial position of the Government was thus a cause of serious anxiety to the administrators.

Lord Ripon hit upon the device of turning intelligent and influential Indians into unpaid government servants by giving them the dignified title of "Municipal Commissioner". He thus saved a great deal of money and at the same time deal a blow to the spread of national ideas and aspirations by associating the leaders of Indian society with the government. The financial relief that was obtained justified the introduction of the measure. There can be few persons who are in a more humiliating position than a Municipal Commissioner. He has to serve the government without a salary and to sit as a social inferior in the presence of the local officer. He loses time, health, money, honour and selfrespect for nothing.

The use of municipalities as instruments of financial gains to Government was recognised by all politicians who had eyes to see. It was known to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji too, who,

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strangely enough, now teaches us to regard Lord Ripon's measure as a great boon and a concession of political rights. For Mr. Novoji and Sir W. Weddesburn, in the Minority Report which they submitted as members of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure appointed in 1895, said in plain words :

"Another wide field for economy is to be found in the further extension of local self-government and the substitution of voluntary unpaid workers for the lower class of Native subordinates. It is well known that the impossibility of providing adequate salaries for the vast number of subordinates required for Indian administration was one of the leading considerations which induced Lord Ripon to initiate his system of local self-government. Considerable financial relief was thus obtained."

(Congress Green Book IV p. 64)

Sir William Weddeburn also referred in 1906 to the advantage which Government could derive from municipalities, when he said :

"No consideration was given to the proposals for *economical and efficient administration* by increased employment of Indian agency in both the civil and military departments and *from voluntary and unpaid services obtainable by decentralisation and an extension of local self-government.*"

NOTES & COMMENTS

Long Live Egypt!

Egypt is already far advanced on the road to freedom, as it already possesses young men willing to die for their Fatherland. Now the first martyr of young Egypt has fired the shot that heralds the dawn of a new era for his country. The traitor Copt, Boutros Pasha, who we are told by the English newspapers "enjoyed the confidence of Lord Cromer" has paid the penalty of his misdeeds. We pay our sincere homage to Ibrahim Wardani, the proto-martyr of the Egyptian cause; his example will inspire hundreds and thousands of his compatriots and co-religionists and the cry of "Down with the Feringhi nazarenes and their servants!" will echo through the land from Khartoum to Cairo! May the great deed of our hero lead all Egyptians to the path of war and liberty and may his name be honoured through all ages in all countries and among all peoples!

The Nasik Fête

Another nationalist fête has been celebrated, at Nasik amid the rejoicings of all true patriots. Our beloved Deshbandhu Savarkar has been avenged. The world has learned that the powerful British Empire in India cannot protect its agents against the righteous indignation of the nationalist party. The memorable words of our hero have touched a responsive chord in many a noble heart: "I have done my duty." If even a section of our people would lay to heart these great words, India would be free and prosperous for generations. In spite of all the repressive measures of the enemy, our movement is still living in every part of India. The gospel of Dharma-yuddha has obtained a firm hold on the nationalist spirit. The message of 'Death to the tyrants!' has sunk deep in the minds of young India. The Nasik fête illustrates the vitality of revolutionary nationalism and the impotence of the muchdreaded Sirkar in the face of a minority of determined men for whom Death has lost its terror.

But the Nasik exploit has a deeper significance. We know that the hero possessed Browning pistols. Now, these weapons are not manufactured in India but in Europe. How have they been imported into India by the Revolutionaries? It is clear that this fact is a testimony to the efficiency of our organisation and the secrecy of our activity. Those cowardly croakers who are always moaning and groaning because the people have no arms should take a lesson from this incident. Revolutionary nationalism has justified its name by importing fire arms into India in spite of the bureaucracy and by conducting a campaign of Active Resistance against the enemy with vigour and success. Besides. the imported arms are not the only weapons on which we have to rely. Daggers can be manufactured in India even out of sharp nails to stab all vile agents of the British government, English or Indian.

To all Moderates who believe that the Indian people cannot rise against their tyrants on account of the supposed impossiblity of importing arms into India, we say with pardonable pride: "Look at this Nasik fete! Whence came this pistol? How did it get into the hands of our hero? And, there are many others in other hands! It is the work of the Revolutionary party, and it is strange in your eyes."

So let all patriots take courage. The time is coming when babies will play with pistols and cartridges instead of dolls and toys. The British administration is powerless to check our strenuous activity in this direction.

The sword is as dear to the soldier as his life. It is his friend and companion; it is the harbinger of glory and honour. So, let us honour the hero, but let us not forget his pistol, the sharer of his glory. Deshbandhu Kanre-ki jai! Browning automatic pistol-ki jai!

The Wages of Sin

Once again has Nationalism offered to one of the numerous agents of the bureaucracy the greatest reward and distinction that it can bestow upon such traitors- Death, swift and sudden death, that strikes the miscreant like an avenging Nemesis without pity or hesitation. The nationalist party has made up its mind on this great question and the fiat has gone forth that the brave soldiers of Justice should rid the world of these Rakshasas of to-day. No considerations of race, religion or rank stay our hand. The social organism must be purged of all poisonous matter that saps its vitality. All government servants have been condemned to death by the Nationalist conscience. And slowly but surely, the dictates of that conscience are being realised in practice by the heroic youths of India.

The latest victim to the wrath of the new Death Dealing Deity of India has been a Mahomedan police agent of Calcutta, who has been punished by our hero, Gupta, by being deprived of the life which he was putting to such ignoble use. Nationalism is always just and frank; it does not conceal its righteous indignation. And so, our hero has plainly declared that he killed this police agent on account of the mischievous activity of the latter in connection with the trials for "sedition". It appears that the government can now no more crush the Terrorist ideal out of existence that it can root out the lotus flower from our lakes. Death has lost its mystery, its grimness, and its fear for us. We play with it as with a companion, and receive it and offer it to others with equal composure. Race and religion do not make any difference for us. Whoever crosses our path shall be struck down. Our determination has given our policy the characteristics of a natural law: it is uniform, impersonal, relentless, and unalterable. Let all government servants, Hindu or Muhamadan, Parsi or Christian, beware, for like Death we are no respecter of persons.

A Book

We beg to draw the attention of our readers to the following notice. Owing to want of space this month, we hold the review of the book over for our next issue.

The Indian War of Independence of 1857, *by An Indian Nationalist.*

Published by
The ABHINAVA BHARAT
The Revolutionary Society of India.
10 Fcs. for Paper-bound
20 » » Cloth-bound
Apply to Madame CAMA.

An Appeal

We eanestly request our readers to circulate this journal among their friends in India and elsewhere. We also request them to let us know when they *change their address* and to inform us if they wish to recieve *more or fewer copies.*

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THE
BANDE MATARAM
A Monthly Organ of Indian Independence

« Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves
Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your libération with diligence. »
(Gautama Buddha).

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THE INDIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE OF 1857

A Master-piece of Indian Historical Literature

What voice did on my spirit fall
Pesciera, as thy bridge I crossed?
Tis better to have fought and lost
Than never to have fought at all.

A. H. CLOUGH

We consider it a privilege to review the book on the Indian War of Independence of 1857 by an « Indian Nationalist », which has recently been published by the *Abhinava Bharat*. It is a good sized, neat volume of 450 pages, and the get-up is excellent.

It is a welcome sign of national revival that our national history is claiming attention at the hands of our educated men. The author of this very remarkable treatise has rendered an immense service to India by dealing with a period about which our knowledge is very meagre and which presents features of absorbing interest. English historians have always been misled by prejudice and passion. A well written history of 1857-59, giving the Indian point of view, was a desideratum in the literature of Nationalism. And this long-felt want has now been supplied by our gifted comrade.

The period of 1857-59 was one of the most important epochs in our history. Then the nation learned its strength and also its weakness for the first time. Then those exploits of valour were performed which thrill our hearts with pride and enthusiasm. And the memory of those days is still living in Northern India. Talk of 1857, and every child begins to think of revenge. The book will serve to give a great impetus to our movement by rekindling the fire of righteous indignation in many a noble heart.

We do not profess to be competent critics of such a book, for our own knowledge of the events of the revolution of 1857 is not very profound. We have ourselves learned much from the book. Although the author laboured under the disadvantage of relying upon the records and narratives emanating from English writers, yet he has succeeded in presenting the reader with a connected and inspiring account of the war from the standpoint of those who failed and could not give their story to the world. The writer is evidently gifted with a vivid imagination and with descriptive powers of no mean order, as there are passages in the book of almost epic grandeur which we have read and re-read with great delight. The note of patriotism sounds high and clear. The heroes and heroines are made to live again before our eyes in all the beauty and grandeur of their lives. The errors and misrepresentations of English historians are exposed with masterly thoroughness. The reader is taken from one scene of the drama to another, spell-bound under the magic charm of the writer's vehement enthusiasm, his vigorous and picturesque style, his keen admiration for the characters that come on the stage, and his capacity of losing himself in the subject which he treats. It is a great book, a book that makes an epoch in the history of India and that India will not willingly let die.

We cannot give our readers any idea of the charm and originality of the book by means of excerpts. Quotation can never do adequate justice to the whole Every Indian should read the author's account of the secret organisation, of the martyrdom of Mangal Panday, of the private life of the Rani of Jhansi, of the defence of Tanu bridge, of Lakshmi Bai'smarch from Jhansi to Kalpi, of the massacre of Englishmen at Cawnpore, of Moulvie Ahmed Shah's bold move on Lucknow, of the execution of the Patna martyr Pœr Ali, of the herioc fight in Sikander Bag, of Kumar Sigh's passage of the Ganges, of Tatia's marvellous retreats and marches in Central India, of the heroic conduct of the patriot martyrs of Itawa and Ambarpur, of the charge of the Ghazis at Barielly, of Rani Lakshmi Bai's bravery huring the the siege of Jhansi, and of a hundred other incidents which adorn the pages of History and shed undying lustre on the heroes whe took part in them. The melancholy events of the war which led to the final disaster have also been faithfully described and accounted for. The faults of our party have net been glossed over, and the narrative is thus both instructive and inspiring. We cull the following passages as illustrative of the authers's imaginative fervour. It describes the passing of the chapatees from hand to hand before the outbreak of the war.

« So this fiery red Cross of India travelled from village to village, kindling with flame every village it touched. Speed on, Angel of Revolution, speed on ! Go thou forth to preach the gospel to all the dear children of India that the country is now ready for a Jehad to make every one of them free. Dash on, Messenger, to all the ten directions, not stopping even at midnight, piercing the air with the

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awe inspiring cry, The Mother goes forth to the war! Run one, run all-save her! The gates of the cities are closed-still wait not till they open, but fly over through the air. The mountain defiles are deep, breken are the steep ascents, the rivers are wide, the forests are dangerous; still dread thou not but speed like an arrow with this terrible national message. On thy speed depends the life or the death of the Desh and Dharma. Hence cover as many miles as thou possibly can and race with the wind. When the enemies destroy one shape of thee, go-thou miraculous Angel-assuming hundred forms at this critical period of our national existence! In every shape and form of thy soul, create for thyself a thousand tongues. Invite all-wife and husband, mother and child, sister and brother, to come with their relatives to accomplish this predestined task. Invite the spears of the Mahrattas, the swords of the Rajputs, the Kripan of the Sikhs, the crescent of the Islamites-invite one and all to make the ceremony a success! »

The auther's description of Rani Laksmi Bai's march from Jhansi te Kalpi has all the beaty of a lyric in prose. « But, Lakshmi, put your horse now into a gallop. For Lieut. Bowker is galloping behing, followed by select horsemen, in oder to capture you. And you, O Horse, fortunate on account of the treasure you carry, gallop on! Let the men of Bharata be traitors, but ye Animals, ye at least be faithful! Oh Night, drop the curtains of darkness between Queen Lakshmi and her enemies. Ye paths, do not obstuct the horse's onward march! Oh ye Stars, shine not for the enemy but just shine so that this tender beauty, delicate as a flower, should be encouraged on the way by your rays, cool as nectar! The dawn has now broken; so, heroine goddess, flying all night on the wings of the wind, rest thee near the village of Bhandier, The Malhakurre of the village will feed your darling Damodar! As soon as the breakfast was over, she again started on her journey on the Kalpi road. But what is this dust on the road behind? Spur your horses on! Laksmi keep Damodar safe on the back and gallop on! Take out your sword. There, Bowker is pressing close!... Wounded Bowker and his followers gave up the pursuit. The sword of the Mother advanced triumphant and shining. The sun in the heaven above, Rani Lakshmi Bai on earth-both were marching forward. Morning was gone and midday came, but the Rani did not stop. Afternoon came, the shades of evening began to fall, the sun went down the horizon-but the Rani would not stop. The stars rose. They saw her just as they had seen her the night before-marching in hot haste! At last at midnight, Rani Laksmi Bai entered Kalpi. A ride of a hundred and two miles she accomplished-and that, fighting with a man like Bowker and with the burden of a child on her back » (Page 386).

The writer's reflections on the conduct of the twenty-five heroes who courted martyrdom at Itawa by deliberately opposing the whole English army deserve to be engraved on every Indian heart: « But fear could only exist in the hearts of ordinary mortals. Those who charmed by the ideal of Independence welcomed death as the only means of achieving the ideal, whe could succeed in frightening these? Whe fights for victory fears; who battles for glory even may fear; but who could frighten him who fights for death alone? The utmost one can be afraid of is Death. But he who has overstepped those limits and who smiles on Death, what could frighten him? Who could come in the way of such a man? Not all the thunders and all the lightnings of dread heaven could stop his progress; for, his progress is towards death alonehas no room for despair. Those national heroes of Itawa who courted death in battle with the ardour of a lover for his love, what could frighten them then? »

The author's brief farewell to Tatia, the hero who had in him the making of a Napoleon, is touching in its concentrated pathos: « Tatia Tope, the hero of 1857, the country's martyr, the defender of religion, the proud, the loving, the generous Tatia Tope was hanging lifeless on the gallows of the English !... Tatia, Oh Tatia! why did you fight for these wretched, stupid, and treacherous people? Why were you ever born in our unfortunate country? Tatia, can you see now the tears we shed for you? For the tears of weaklings, your *Blood*! What a bargain indeed! »

The above extracts will give our readers an idea of the impassioned style which gives the book its chief value and interest. We trust that it will find many readers and that the names of our heroes will thus be kept alive from generation to generation.

II

We do not agree with the author in his analysis of the causes that led to the failure of the movement for the time being. Lack of able leaders, want of discipline and organisation, the cowardice of those who did not rise, and the absence of an attractive constructive ideal have been pointed out in the course of the narative as the main causes of the failure. Speaking of the Revolutionary forces in Delhi, the author says: « They had no capable leader who could bring into a focus the scattered elements of fire and energy. »

And again: « The lack of good leaders among the Revolutionaries made their defeat more and more certain... There was a climax of disorder, anarchy, and disobedience among the Indian troops. » In the concluding chapter, the author lays stress on the absence of a constructive ideal and the treachery and cowardice of unpatriotic Indians who injured the cause of freedom. « Why was there defeat? Several minor reasons have been mentioned in their proper places. But the chief reason appears to be this. Though the plan of the destructive part of the Revolution was complete, its creative part was not attractive enough... If there had been set clearly before the people at large a new ideal attractive enoughto captivate their hearts, the growth and the completion of the Revolution would have been as successful and grand as the beginning». « The defeat was chiefly due to the treachery of those men who had not sense enough to understand that the English power was more harmful than even the former kind of Swaraj ever could be and of those who had not the honesty and patriotism to refuse to give help to the foreigner against their own countrymen. »

We are howeevr inclined to think that none of these causes was principally responsible for the final defeat. The revolution did not fail because many Indians did not join it or because the Sikhs and the Gurkhas fought on the enemies' side. We should attribute the failure to this cause if we were able to show that the Revolutionaries suffered from numerical inferiority in comparison with the British troops. But the fact remains that in spite of the loyalty of the Sikhs to their conquerors and the indifference of the people in Bombay, Madras, and the Punjab, the revolutionaries had at their disposal much larger forces than the Britisch could ever get together. The British ware always in a minority. At the siege of Delhi, the revolutionaries numbered 50,000 while the British possessed-only 11,000 soldiers. At Lucknow, the town contained 80,000

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armed men while the assaulting army numbered 30,000. Hence it is clear that even if the Sikhs who followed the British had come over to the Revolutionaries, the gain to our cause could not have been very considérable. As to the Gurkhas, they only appeared at a later stage, and they had nothing to do with the fall of Delhi Jhansi, or the loss of Cawnpore. In no revolution has every man, weman, and child been on the side of freedom. In the American War of Independence, there were numerous loyalists in all the states. During the French Revolution, one part of the country, La Vendée, rose for the king and France had a civil war within while she fought all Europe without her borders. Cromwell won the field for Puritanism while half the country fought for the King. Thus the lack of numerical strength was not the chief cause of our failure and the abstention or opposition of those who did not fight with us cannot be assigned as the principal cause of defeat.

Nor can it be asserted that the Revolutionaries had not made adequate preparation. We agree with the author that « the préparations that were made in 1857 are not usually found even in successful revolutions. » In the American War of Indépendence, there was practically no previous preparation at all. The French Revolution commenced when even those who took part in it were unconscious of the importance of their own actions, and no one had made any preparations for a revolution as no one had dreamed of it. The States-general met to discuss reforms and gradually revolution and foreign war had to be faced as one event led to another. On the contrary, the Revolution of 1857 was planned with great skill and caution in India.

We cannot attach much importance to the lack of able leaders; for, as far as we can see, there were many good leaders in 1857. It the English had Canning Campbell, Havelock, Outram, and Nicholson we had Nana, Tatia, Kumar Singh, Ahmed Shah, Azimullah, Lakshmi Bai, Bakht Khan, and others. The English lest valuable commandes like Hope, Chamberlain, and Nicholson in the course of the war, while our leaders lived on till the end. The English possessed no man at all comparable to Tatia and Kumar Singh and they had no heroine at all. Besides, leaders are only soldiers who have risen from the ranks. Leaders do not belong to another snperior race of beings. And we cannot believe that Canpore was lost or that Lucknow fell for want of good leaders. The absence of a constructive ideal cannot account for the loss of battles fought in the War. It may have deterred some men from joining our army, but it cannot explain why those men who had joined it should have been defeated in the field. And we do not think, the constructive ideal was lacking. The people were quite happy under Nana Sahib during his brief reign at Cawnpore and under Bahadur Shah during the period of his restored sovereigny at Delhi. The Hindus must have been gratified to find that the Emperor forbade the slaughter of kine. The people did not aspire to universal suffrage or votes for women. And as we have remarked, even if some thoughtful or lukewarm persons did abstain from active service because they did not find the constructive ideal sufficiently attractive, that was no reason why Tatia should have been defeated in two engagements at Cawnpore or why the English assault on Lucknow should have been successful while two assaults made by the Revolutionaries on the little Residency should have failed.

If we wish to examine the questiou deeply, we must not start with generalities but must begin with facts and work our way up to general conclusions. The questions we have to answer are the following. Why did Delhi fall?

Why did Lucknow fall? Why was Gwalior lost? Why could Haveloek enter Cawnpore? And why was Tatia obliged to flee from it a second time? In a word we must fix our attention on the military problem first, and then find out the social and moral circumstances that produced the military disasters. The theory of the lack of able leaders falls to the ground when we see how badly the soldiers behaved themselves under such leaders as Ahmed Shah and Tatia at Luckonw and Jhansi. Tatia was a genius and surpassed Ranjit Singh and Guru Govind Singhji in political and military skill, he was one of the greatest Hindus of all history. But he could not hold the field against ordinary English generals who commanded smaller forces. At the battle of Cawnpore, the English artillery was late in arriving on the field, and we are told that « the Revolutionary army was so splendidly arranged that the English warrior who had spent all his life on the battlefiled perceived that there were some men among the Revolutionaries of extraordinary military skill. » In spite of these advantages, the sequel is told in these melancholy words: « But when Havelock, irritated by the success of the Revolutionaries, began to push forward again in desperate vigour and when the Highlanders, with up-turned eyes, ran straight to the guns, and the English, without going back an inch, rushed forth with the cry Death or victory'- then the left wing becane quite unable to resist the united, sudden, and orderly attack and retreated leaving their guns behind... But with the courage of despair, Nana Sahib rallied them and... renewed the fight... One more assault from the English side and even this desparate resistance became in vain, and the defeated revolutionaries retreated towards Brahmavarta. »

Referring to the Revolutionaries' attack on the English position at Lucknow, the author says: « There was a tremendously big breach in tha English wall, enough for a whole regiment to march in good order. But where was the regiment that would go in? If the English had effected such a breach in the enemies' wall, they would have captured the place in half an hour. » There's the rub!

The capture of Cawnpore by Tatia showed how an Indian army could defeat an English force in open field. If all engagements had been as successful as these two battles fought by Tatia, India would have been free to-day. But this is what befel Tatia, as he stood under the walls of Jhansi to fight Sir Hugh Rose: « Tatia had under, him now, the largest number of troops he ever had and hence the English were not a little disconcerted... Alas! A most shameful poltroonish cowardice was exhibited by the Revolutionary troops on the river Betva... One determined attack like that of the Mavalas of Shivaji or the select band of Kumar, and the vultures had fed upon the Union Jack and its followers. But the English charged straight on the enemy. The cowards did not offer fight... So the army and its commanders wore routed and ran away. » The English army including the Indian sepoys numbered 5000 and Tatia had with him 22,000 men. How can we say that this battle was lost on account of the treachery of the Sikhs and the Gurkhas or the want of a constructive ideal?

If we examine the accounts of all such encounterrs, we shall find that the war ended as it did, because the revolutionaries could not fight as well as their enemies. The Indian Panday was very inferior

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to the English Tommy Atkins. No English army could resist a charge of English bayonets on any battle-field during a century. This fact is duly noted by the author on one occasion.

We must now investigate the cause of this stange phenomenon. It is not peculiar to India alone. The English soldier has fought in like manner in Egypt and Burma. The *immediate* cause of the loss of freedom in the case of these countries has been the circumstance that, even with the best guns, an army of Indian, Burmese, Chinese, or Egyptians soldiers could not resist the onslaught of a smaller number of British troops. He who would learn the causes of the success of British imperialism must account for this phenomenon.

We shall help our readers to understand this problem by means of a series of questions, for which he should try and think of one answer. Why could a handful of Muhamadan invaders defeat vast Hindu armies in the Ilth century? Why could the small Islamic community in Arabia conquer Persia and other states? Why could the half-starved ill-clad troops of the French Revolutionary government defeat the disciplined Prussian troops at Valmy? How could France fight all Europe during twenty years after the commence single-handed ment of the Revolution? How could a few hundred Spaniards under Cortes and Pizzare conquer whole kingdoms in America? How did a few Frenchmen take possession of Algeria? How could the Sikhs defeat large Muslin armies in open fiold?

What is the answer to these questions? The small minorities in the above instances could overpower large numbers of armed forces, because the latter were individually very inferior to them in fighting capacity! And why? Let us ask ourselves why the French revolutionary soldiers, or the Spaniards, or the Mahomedans, or the Sikhs were stronger than their opponents? They were not giants. What was the difference then? *They were more determined men*. That is all. On the battlefield, they thought only of the cause while the enemies thought of other things. The British soldier's charge proved irresistible because he did not shrink when face to face with death, while his opponents were not so resolute. The same truth will be learned from a study of all empire-building in the past. The Romans, the Saracens, the French, the Spaniards, and the English won dominion in distant lands because the average Roman, Saracen, French, Spanish, or English soldiers was a more earnest and fearless man than his antagonist. Cromwel won battles for the same reason. And all history tells the same tale.

This then is the lesson to be learned from the failure of the Revolution of 1857. If we misread history, we shalll suffer. It is extremely important that we should learn the right lesson from our past experience. If we imagine that Revolution of 1857 failed because the Nizam held aloof or because some Sikhs fought against us or because we did not possess a few leaders whose appearance would have saved us, we shall repeat in the future the errors that have cost us so dear in the past. If Sir Hugh Rose's 5000 men could defeat in the first charge 22,000 Indian soldiers led by Tatia, then we may conclude the issue could not have been very different even if 5000 Sikhs had been added to the Indian army For if 5000 English troops could defeat 22,000 Indian soldiers, they could also defeat 27,000 of the latter. Similarly if Lucknow could not hold out against 30,000 English soldiers while it was defended by 80,000 Indian troops, the addition of 22,000 more troops to the Indian army would not have made much difference. Hence we must now devote our attention to the great question, How can the average Indian peasant be changed into such a man that 5000 of them should be able to defeat 2,000 English troops in battle? Or at least how can they be trained to fight at least an equal number of the English soldiers?

And this problem is very difficult to solve. For its solution, one has to go down deep into the heart and mind of men and effect a revolution in their moral condition, in their outlook upon the world, in their surroundings and circumstanecs, and in their everyday life. We content ourselves with repeating the message which we are never tired of delivering: « Military inefficiency on the battlefield is the result of moral backwardness in the nation. The effect cannot be removed without removing the cause »

Let us therefore set to work in an earnest spirit to renovate the lost manhood of the nation so that in the coming revolution the tables may be turned on our enemies and a charge of a few of our soldiers shloud scatter before it the serried ranks of Highlanders like chaff before the wind!

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Deshbandhu SAVARKAR: An Illegal Arrest

The British government has perpetraded an act of injustice which should show to the world that the boasted love of justice, which is supposed to characterise the Britisher at home, exists only in the imagination of a few misguided admirers of the Anglo-Saxon race. Deshbandhu Savarkar, a patriotic Indian of unblemished character and a noted Mahrathi scholar, has been arrested unjustly and illegally in London on a charge of alleged sedition and abetment of murder in India. This high-handed action of the London police has filled all true hearts with indignation. How can a mere intimation on the part of the irresponsible government of India justify the Home authorities in laying violent hands on a law-student in London against whom nothing has been proved as yet? London is not within the jurisdiction of the Bombay government. The iniquitous policy of harassing Indian students in England will recoil on the heads of those who have devised it.

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THE
BANDE MATARAM
A Monthly Organ of Indian Independence

« Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your libération with diligence. »
(Gautama Buddha).

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MAY 10, 1910: IN MEMORIAM

The world is moving Freedom's way,
And ripening with its sorrow ;
Take heart, who bear the cross to-day
Will wear the crown to-morrow !

On this day fifty three years ago, the soul of the Indian people awoke after a long slumber. On this blessed day fifty-three years ago, the stalwart sons of Ind who had been watching with rage and suspicion the foreigner's march across their fertile plains and smiling fields swore a mighty oath that they should do their duty, and many kept that oath till the end. On this days fifty-three years ago the soldiers of Ind who had been thoughtlessly helping the tyrants in their work arose in a noble passion of repentant rage and wiped off the stain of mercenary servitude from their tilak-bedecked brows. On this day fifty-three years ago, there flashed forth in one mighty conflagration whatever of true fire there was in the heart of our nation, and the great Yajna of national liberation was commenced at Meerut. On this day fifty-three years ago, the holy revolution which has not yet been finished first broke out among the devoted soldiers who marched to Delhi singing the war song of Freedom. On this day fifty-three years ago, India burst her fetters with oue mighty effort and was surprised to know that she was strong and united. On this day fifty-three years ago, the agelong strife of Hindu and Muhammadan was closed and the two races offered each other the beverage of Feringhi blood as a token of friendship. On this day, the Hindu and the Muslim reconciled their differences over the bleeding corpses of the hated tyrants who were grinding both to dust. On this day one fair summer morning, on the sunlit plains of Meerut, the spirit of selfsacrifice which had lain dormant through decades of shame and sorrow suddenly leaped into life and manifested itself in that eternal, awe-inspiring emblem of Devotion and Self-denial—that stern noble figure so familial to the world's history—that wonderful symbol of the omnipotence of Love and the infinite capacity of the soul of Man,—the Soldier with the unsheathed Sword who stands ready to face Death for a Cause, the triumph of which cannot bring any personal gain to him. Yes, on this day one bright morning, the Sword—the ever-lasting refuge of the weak against the strong, the defender of faith, of order, of progress, of virtue and wisdom—was glittering in the rays of the sun on the road between Delhi and Meerut, and India knew that the long nightmare of tears and groans that had oppressed her since Plassey was fought and lost was at last lifted from her breast. On this day, this sacred day, this ever-memorable eventful day— the sons of India felt the full impulse of developed manhood in them and swore that they should live like men or perish. History does not boast of many such days. The 4th of July, the 14th of July, and such-like outstanding days are landmarks in the world's progress towards the era of justice and happiness. And the 10th of May ranks with them. Blessed is he who treasures up in his mind the memory of these days and of those whose heroism cut down the fetters of suffering Humanity on these days. Every year, the sun's revolving course brings us this day, the 10th of May, and we should pause and think in a sad reverent mood of the great men and women who initiated the Revolution of 1857, who fought and bled, and who left a rich legacy of manly deeds for their children to cherish and transmit from generation to generation. Dasara comes and our children lisp the names of Rama and Seeta and tell how they lived and suffered and triumphed through virtue. Krishnashthami brings with it memories of Krishna—the saint, sage, warrior, and statesman—who embodied in his life all that was best and noblest in the Aryan civilisation of his time. And side side by side with these festivals, we must place this new Feringhi-Nashak Utsava, the Swatantrya Samara Divisa which should remind us that we cannot have peace or rest till the Feringhi is driven out of the land, which should recall us from our daily cares and worldly affairs to the duty that lies before us so long as India groans under foreign rule, and which should inspire us with courage and devotion and make each of us say to himself : « Those heroes left their wives and children and all pleasures of life to offer their lives on the altar of Liberty. They met the martyr's death on the battle-field. And shall I who read of their noble life and nobler death today—shall I grudge any sacrifice of time or comfort or money or talent or self-love for the sake of the Cause which was so dear to them ? They bled for us, for the coming generations of their nation. They fought so that we, their descendants, should enjoy the fruits of their martyrdom It is my duty therefore to carry on their work, to preach their gospel, to wage the war which they commenced, to win the victory which eluded their grasp, and to establish the free state which they could only see in their mind's eye from afar as Moses saw the Promised Land ! »

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And did they fail? Was it all so much labour lost? Did they leave no trace on History? Were thousands of lives offered up for the sake of Freedom in vain? No, it is not so! Historians tell us that the Revolution was crushed, that it was a failure, that the English still rule the land. But if we think for a moment, we shall see that though our comrades did not achieve all that they desired to accomplish, yet their sacrifice secured substantial gain for the country during the last fifty years. No revolution is ever planned in vain. The tyrants may not be crushed, the full programme of the champions of freedom may not be realised, but some good is always obtained and some check is always put on the wickedness of Tyranny. Historians tell us that the Fenian movement was not a success, for the Irish Republic which it planned is still a dream of the imagination. But if the republic did not come, other good things came instead; the Dis-establishment Bill came and the Land-Purchase Act and other many minor measures which ameliorated the condition of the Irish peasantry. The tyrants frightened at the spectre of Revolution always desist from more odious forms of oppressions that may provoke another revolt. And the Revolution of 1857 bore rich fruit for India. The states were saved. Had the heroes of 1857 not fought and suffered, all India would have been painted red on the map to-day and there would have been no Indian princes or courts or flags at all. The Revolution of 1857 said to the flood of foreign domination which was submerging all India and destroying all vestige of national life, « Thus far shalt thou go and no further! » When we rejoice to think that no British soldier can set foot in our states, that our own language and our traditions are respected there, we should pay our homage to the sacred memories of those heroes whose death procured us these blessings. Again the much-vaunted policy of religious neutrality is the direct outcome of the Revolution of 1857. The British rulers of India would fain see all India converted to Christianity. And they had commenced a regular campaign with this object after the fall of the Sikh kingdom, as they thought that the last military Power of India had been destroyed and the Indian religions and civilisation were at the mercy of the foreign conquerors. But the Revolution showed them that, though many things in India were dead, religion still possessed some life and could unite and inspire even those people who were not moved by other impulses. The British rulers were suddenly confronted with the spectacle of a formidable organised insurrection threatening them with ruin when they believed that they could rest in security for years. The scrupulous care with which the tyrants seem to treat religious questions, the ostentatious manner in which they proclaim their policy of neutrality, and the respite thus afforded to our national energy for development are all to be traced to the Revolution of 1857. The States and the religious organisation of the nation were thus saved from further molestation. What does this signify? It means that two most important and essential institutions were rescued from the imminent peril that threatened them. Some portion of our treasure was saved from plunder. The English were not expelled from India but they were at least expelled from the States and from the religious organisations; for if there had been no Revolution, they would have slowly carried out their policy of annexing all the States and converting all India to Christianity. Sufficient material was thus saved to serve as the basis for a future revolution.

The indirect gain to the country was still greater. It was demonstrated that Hindus and Muhammadans could unite against a common enemy. It was proved that Indians could command large armies, organise administration under the most difficult circumstances, sink their personal rivalries in the pursuit of a common ideal, and perform feats of valour which astonished the world. It was seen that genius was not extinct amongst the Indian people. All these inestimable advantages were secured during the Revolution. The moral gain was immense. Had there been no Revolution, there would have been no Tatia Tope, no Kumar Singh, no Lakshmi Bai, no Ahmad Shah. And would not Indian history have been poorer for the loss of these names? Even if the Revolution had done no other good, except that of having given free scope to the genius of such heroes and vindicated the tarnished fame of the Indian people, it would have been beneficial to the nation. Who would not have churned the ocean to get the fourteen jewels?

It now remains for us to complete the work of the Martyrs of 1857. Let us neutralise the evil that has inevitably followed the triumph of the enemy. Let us remove from the popular mind the notion of the invincibility of the English government. This soul-killing idea has been produced as a result of the failure of the Revolution. The people have been discouraged and demoralised. Let us narrate to them the history of other countries which have obtained freedom after repeated efforts. Let us show them that the English government is a colossus stuffed with clouts, that it has no inherent strength, that it derives all its power from our own weakness and disunion. Let us thus convince the people that a second successful Revolution is not only possible but is within the range of practical politics. Let us also expose the mischievous fallacy that India cannot get arms to fight with. Where there is a will, there is a way. It is only cowardly croakers who moan and groan in this manner. Millions of men in earnest can get all they want. The British do not get their weapons as a gift from heaven. Let us say to our warrior races what Krishna said to Arjuna: «Whence has this dullness come upon thee in the midst of difficulties, O Arjuna? It is unworthy of an Arya, it leads away from the heavenly ideal, it exposes thee to disgrace. Give up this petty weakness of thy heart and arise!» Thus do the spirits of the Martyrs of 1857 call us from their graves! They call us to live and die for the cause of Freedom. They call us to give up the love of ease and riches and worldly honour and life itself, and to devote ourseles to the struggle which they set on foot. They ask us, « Will our work be left incomplete? We did our duty, we were the master-builders. Will our hearts' desire be left unrealised? Will the Feringhi flag float for ever upon the walls of Delhi, Cawnpore, and Lucknow? » Do you hear the call, my Comrades? Do you hear the question, my Comrades? If you do, remember that there is only one thing to do. DO YOUR DUTY. Sacrifice your selfish interests. Only through duty and self-denial will the goal be reached. And the new India of our dreams will rise, beautiful and glorious, to uphold the cause of Virtue and Justice for ever and for ever.

> There amidst the world new-builded shall our earthly deeds abide,
> Though our names be all forgotten and the tale of how we died! »

THE EGYPTIAN PROBLEM

We have received a letter from Monsieur M. a noted Egyptian journalist, setting forth a «reasonable and moderate» programme for the solution of the Egyptian question. We regret that the space at our disposal prevents us from reproducing the communication in full. Mr. M. points out in his letter that the «cause of Egypt is of vital

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importance to the independance of India » and that « the evacuation of Egypt is the first step towards the emancipation of India for whose sake Egypt was occupied». We are very glad to note that Mr. M. sincerely sympathises with the Indian people. He writes: « Perhaps I am the first Egyptian who has written and cared most for India. I have published the careers of your chief leaders. I hope to send you other communications ».

Monsieur M. prefaces the exposition of his « reasonable and moderate programme » with « a noble appeal to humane Europe » in which he characterises Egypt as « the land of ceaseless misery ! » He adds at the end: « I have the honour to send you herewith a copy to give me your opinion about it, promise to help me or at least tell me of the possible means which may induce the Powers to hold an international congress in order to consider such proposals.

Coming to the programme itself, we learn that it was presented to the Turkish authorities on Sept. 7th, 1908. It is divided into 26 sections and comprises proposals for an international occupation of Egypt for some years, which sould be succeeded by the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops and officers. An Ottoman garrison should replace the English army or if the plan is not approved by the European Powers, an international force is to hold Egypt like Crete. Turkey should be responsible for the safety of foreigners in Egypt and for the payment of the public debt. The European advisers should be chosen from different nationalities and thus English influence should be diminished. The Egyptian constitution of 1881 should be restored and the ministers should be responsible to the Chamber. The Turkish language should be authorised along with the English and French.

We omit other details of the programme Mr. M. believes that «the proprosed temporary international occupation is the best means at least to escape the violence of Imperialism and that of inexperienced nationalism ».

As Mr. M. has asked us to express our opinion as to the suitability of his proposals, we should frankly tell him and all Egyptian patriots who may be of the same way of thinking with him that they are on a wrong track altogether. We cordially sympathise with our Egyptian comrades, not only because the success of their efforts will also be conducive to the happiness of India but because we love and honour all men and women who are striving against the forces of evil in any part of the world. Our hearts beat in unison with all champions of the Oppressed and downtrodden races and classes. For the cause of Righteousness is one, and all who try to serve it in various ways are comrades. But we must advise our Egyptian friends to alter their methods of work if they wish to succeed. We do not know how far the Egyptian politicians mean business. The proposals brought forward by Mr. M. are vitiated by numerous and glaring defects. Turkey is a broken reed to rely on, for she cannot antagonise herself to England at the present crisis in her history. She may entertain some secret plans with regard to Egypt, but, for all practical purposes, she must be friendly to England just now. She has already entrusted the reorganisation of her fleet to an English admiral and has granted commercial concessions to English traders. The Egyptian patriot should not imagine that Turkish intervention can be of any avail. Again the polyglot administration devised by Mr. M. will not work. For, a government is not a mere mob of officials drawing their salaries out of the state treasury; it is an organism directed by a uniform will towards a definite purpose. It is a living force which cannot be managed by a heterogeneous and fortuitous group of officers chosen from among the various nations of Europe. The European powers have no common will they have no common organ of political life. Hence it is idle to propose that the Egyptian administration should be carried on by officers belonging to different nationalities guided by no supreme authority. The Egyptian government can be either English or French or Turkish or Egyptian in its spirit and purpose. It cannot be all of these combined. Such a juxtaposition of mutually opposed elements cannot produce anything but a political chaos and will make confusion worse confounded.

Mr. M. proposes that an international congress should solve the question on the lines indicated by him. It is high time that the Egyptian patriots should recognise that the Egyptian problem is no longer an international affair. It now rests with England and Egypt only to settle it. No power or combination of powers will embroil itself with England over the Egyptian problem.

Let us look facts in the face. England has conquered Egypt and the Soudan. Tel-el-Kebir gave her the title deeds of Egypt. She holds the country in subjection on account of her overwhelming naval and military force. Now, if the Egyptians wish to throw off the galling yoke of the stranger, they must devise means to provide themselves with sufficient power to beat the English army in open conflict and drive out the foreigner at the point of the bayonet.

How can Egypt acquire such strength? She is feeble, ignorant, and inert. The Egyptian patriots should form an organisation for the attainment of freedom by means of war. First there must be apostles of the cause. Many young men should take a vow of poverty, celebacy, and homelessness and devote themselves to the task of moral and intellectual preparation for the coming struggle. They should elevate the character of the people and teach the sons of the aristacracy to eschew frivolity and self-seeking. They should live like oriental fakirs, like the Mahdi of Soudan and acquire great influence among all classes of people. They should be well instructed in the history of their country and above all in the traditions, principles, and moral teachings of Islam which is the life and soul of the Egyptian society. If a number of such men and women come forward to work, the first stage of the movement can be reached. After some years of this preparatory training, the spirit of the people should be raised by individual political assassination which should be immediately followed by war as a sequel. And if the work of preparation has been thoroughly and conscientiously accomplished, the war will bring freedom as surely as spring brings buds and blossoms to trees. That is the only line of work that can save Egypt. If it can be followed, everything will be well; if the Egyptians do not possess sufficient moral energy or wisdom to pursue it, England will rule Egypt in spite of all « reasonable and moderate programmes ».

Are there men and women in Egypt who can pledge themselves to a life of poverty and celibacy and hard work for the sake of their suffering brothers and sisters? That is the great question, for no nucleus of any organisation can be formed without them. That is the starting point for all future propaganda. We request Mr. M. to turn away his gaze from Europe and Constantinople and look inwards at his own people and try to find such earnest comrades to initiate the movement. Selfsacrifice — Moral training — War: That is the magic formula that opens the portals of Liberty as surely as « Open Sesame » revealed to Ali Baba the hidden treasures of the robbers' cave.

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We have given our friendly advice. We must characterise Mr. M. programme as impraticable and ludicrous. It is a sheer waste of energy to write and circulate such manifestoes. They are worse than useless and lead young men to wrong channels of thought and action. We conclude our remarks by reminding the great words of the Japanese thinker, Okakura: *Victory from within or mighty death from without!*

THE CRISIS

Say not, « the struggle nought availeth,
The labour and the wounds are vain;
The enemy faints not nor faileth,
And, as things have been, things remain! »
For, while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Come silent, flooding in the main.

A. H. CLOUGH.

The crisis through which we are passing gives rise to anxious thoughts in the minds of all thoughtful persons. Whither are we going? Will the movement lose all its vigour and vitality, now that our enemies are exerting themselves to the utmost to prevent the circulation of revolutionary literature in India? Will all groups of workers be scattered and demoralised by persecutions? Will the idea fall into abeyance for many years? Will all the enthusiasm that has been exhibited hitherto be followed by a reaction? These questions agitate the minds of all zealous patriots, and we must deal with them on this occasion.

It cannot be denied that the repressive measures of the government will render our task more difficult in the future. Forewarned is forearmed, and the bureaucracy is setting all its machinery in motion in order to stop the diffusion of revolutionary journals, leaflets, and manifestoes throughout the country. It is true that we have lost many valuable comrades whom we could ill spare. Some leaders have been frightened and demoralised; others have fallen into the hands of the enemy. The government is in a mood of vindictive fury on account of the persistence of the revolutionary propaganda. The resources of our party, inside and outside India, cannot be compared to the material which is at the disposal of the bureaucracy.

We admit the existence of all these factors of the situation. But what follows? When David fought with Goliath, the latter was arrayed in a complete panoply of armout, while David had only a sling and a few stones. But the Scripture record tells us that David won the victory. Let us not be misled by the imposing structure of bureaucratic efficiency, as it appears to the imagination of the uninstructed man in India. We have baffled the agents of the administration on more occasions than one and, if we make proper use of the opportunities that are within our reach. we shall succeed in keeping up the vitality of the movement in the coming years.

What are our peculiar advantages in this conflict at the present stage? Let us take stock of our position:

Ist. The circulation of our literature among the Indian colonies resident outside India is not affected by the repressive measures of the government. There are thousands of our compatriots living all over the world over whom the penal code has no power and whose correspondance cannot be intercepted by the government of India. It is high time for us to turn our attention to this promising field of work which lies before us. Very little has been done up till now in this direction. Associations must be established for the promotion of patriotic ideas among these colonists. The ablest and most energetic men who command influence among them should be in close touch with one another. We see how the Irish emigrants to America keep alive the Fenian ideal while it cannot find expression at all within Ireland. They help the movement with money on a large scale. Its organs are published under the protection of the Stars and Stripes. Similarly, the Indian residents in foreign countries are now the trustees and guardians of the sacred Idea. It flies to them for shelter for the time being. And no one need fear that our movement will be suppressed so long as there are patriotic Indians living under other flags than the Union Jack.

2nd. We must not exaggerate the power of the bureaucracy. In spite of all its vigilance and alertness, a portion of our literature will find its way into our country. India is so vast and the administration is so occupied with so many things that the circulation of light, and stirring leaflets, among young men is not a very difficult task after all.

The administration is not all-pervading like ether nor can we say of it what the Indian philosopher said of Brahman «Having no ears, it hears; having no eyes, it sees». Those who resign themselves to despair at this moment lead support to the theory of omniscience, omnipotence, and invincibility of the Sirkar which paralyses our peasantry and which it is our bounden duty to demolish.

3rd. We admit that, for the present, all active propaganda among the young men of India with a view to the acquisition of new workers is exceedingly difficult. But there are hundreds of able and patriotic Indian students in America and Japan who can be inspired with true apostalic fervour, if only some capable workers are sent among them. The harvest is plenteous but the labourers are few. We should now realise that, even if the government succeeds in checkmating us in India at ever step, there is ample scope for work for several years among Indians living abroad.

4th. We should reflect that steady work is its own reward. We must not imagine that the Idea is not making progress because our particular journal cannot be circulated or because those workers whom we know personally have been lost. Again, we must not fancy that, *if heroic exploits of political assassination do not occur every week, the movement will die out.*

Everyday in the year is not a fête in the calendar. The living idea of Independence spreads through many channels and in various ways unknown to us. India contains more patriots than are known to you or me. There are quite noble men whe are working on their own lines among the people. There are patient soul biding their time. That is the meaning of the lines by Clough quoted above. The worker who allows himself to fall a prey to dejection because he, as an individual, cannot see his way clearly before him is a short-sighted egoist. So, let us calmly continue our allotted work trusting that success will crown our efforts if we are true to ourselves, and do our duty day by day without haste and without rest. Every good deed is treasured up in the infinite archives of Humanity and in due time brings its reward. Cast your bread on the waters, my Comrades, and after many days it will come back to you.

« Then, welcome each rebuff
That turns Earth's smoothness rough,
Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand but go!
Be your joys three-parts pain!
Strive and hold cheap the strain;
Lea·n, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe!

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THE
BANDE MATARAM
A Monthly Organ of Indian Independence

« Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves
Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your libération with diligence. »
(Gautama Buddha).

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THE INDIAN PEOPLE AND THE KING OF ENGLAND

No important event can occur in the world without some striking manifestation of meanness and servility on the part of that section of our people which has lost all vestiges of national pride and self-respect. If a war breaks out in China, these self-seeking sycophants offer their services. If the Viceroy catches a cold, they send messages of condolence. If the King of England's horse wins at Derby, they at once convey their sincere congratulations. They seem to be on the look-out for every opportunity of demeaning themselves and exposing their country to the ridicule and contempt of civilised nations.

The death of King Edward VII of England should be a veritable godsend for these persons. And they have not been slow to take advantage of such an admirable occasion for displaying their loyalty and devotion to the British connexion. Such an event is a real boon for all title-hunters, job-seekers and the whole motley crowd of rogues and hypocrites, who prosper under the protection of the British power in India. On such occasions, representatives of this class vie with one another in organising demonstrations and giving low utterance to their real or imaginary sentiments of sorrow and despair and what not. And they take it upon themselves to speak in the name of the whole nation. As if the entire nation were composed only of flatterers and hypocrites and worldly wretches! The death of King Edward VII has already given birth to the usual crop of demonstrations and processions. The newspapers have been full of sickening comments, which are quite uncalled for. The « Bengali » laments the loss of a good sovereign, and remembers the gracious words of the Proclamation of 1908. The Maharaja of Darbhanga, that prince of conscienceless toadies, has come to the front as the organiser of a meeting of Hindus in Calcutta for the expression of the keenest feelings of regret. Processions are set on foot, and other means are resorted to for proclaiming from the house-tops how the country is groaning with sorrow at the unbearable loss that the Empire has sustained in the unexpected demise of the Sovereign.

And the whole thing would be comic indeed, if it were not so tragic for those who think and feel for the welfare of their beloved country. All this farrago of tear-shedding, and crape-wearing proves to us how low the people have already sunk in their moral calibre. The men and women who take part in such celebrations can only come out of a rotten and diseased society, as their existence presupposes not merely the decay but the utter wreck of all sense of social duty, national pride and common honesty among a large portion of the population. It is idle to hold up a few individuals to ridicule as if they were the only guilty parties. Gokhale and Darbhanga and others of this class are only types and symbols. They are only the outstanding representatives of a numerous section. The whole nation really shares in the sin. For if there were a strong current of social opinion against such humiliating manifestations, no one would think of them. One man can take the lead in these matters, but why should the others follow? A meeting cannot be held without the voluntary cooperation of a large number of men. A newspaper cannot publish comments which are very obnoxious to its readers. Hence we conclude that the demonstration evoked by the death of Edward VII are the signs and symbols of a deep-rooted malady which is sapping the vitality of our nation. What is this distemper and how should we try to cure it? At first sight, it may appear that we are making much ado about nothing. A « reasonable » man may assert that it does not much matter if expressions of regret are uttered on such an occasion. How is any principle compromised by such a proceeding? These actions are the common-places of daily political life in a subject community. Every conquered nation must pay taxes, observe the laws enacted by the foreigners, welcome a new Governor, bid farewell to a retiring Governor, rejoice at the birth of a son to the Ruler and mourn for the death of a person of the Royal Family. This is only the ordinary duty of all unfortunate nations that have lost their independence. It is not much use making a great fuss about these trifles. We believe that this attitude betokens a lamentable want of sound discernment. A conquered nation may be obliged to pay taxes but no law requires its leaders and representatives to go further and compromise their self-respect by paying willing homage to the ruling race in any way. So long as a subject race maintains an attitude of sullen aloofness and haughty disdain, there is hope for them. But if they once begin to behave like pariahs and dogs, they will never recover their freedom at any time. If they imagine that it is their duty to please the ruling race, to accommodate itself to its humours, to find favour in their sight and to win its indulgence, then they show that they are really slaves-slaves not merely because they are under an alien yoke but because

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their attitude towards the rulers is that of a slave to his master, or of a dog to its owner. The nation which is bound is cursed with political slavery; but the nation wich bends itself is afflicted with real serfdom, the last irremedial form of slavery.

What does it all mean? Why should we go out of our way to express regret at the death of King Edward VII? Why should we feel any regret at all? He was the head of the nation with which we are engaged in a life and death struggle. His title of Emperor of India was the sign and seal of our subjugation. We have vowed to deprive his children of that much coveted title. The whole Indian nation should strive to recover the lost glory of Hind, the Kohinoor which the English monarch wears in his crown. His figure on our coins is the symbol of our disgrace and infamy. As the representative of the English race in its dealings with us and our princes, he is the embodiment of our shame and degradation and of the Briton's triumph and imperial success. How can our children learn that they should shed their blod for rubbing out the figure of the English king from our coins, and for depriving him of the title of Emperor of India, if they see their elders mourning for his death in public and organising religious processions to pray for his soul? Could a Hindu have thought of such a thing in the time of Feroze Shah or Baber or Aurangzeb? The Hindus of those days had not fallen so low as we now have. If we take part in these demonstrations, we help in the destruction of our national self-consciousness. Anyone who patronises them by his act shows that he accepts the British empire in India as a just and permanent institution, to the head of which all reverence is due on our part. He identifies himself with the British, he rejoices in the name of a « Brithis subject » he is happy to ackno wledge the king of England as his emperor; he wishes that his nation should remain for ever under the British yoke and that his national civilisation should perish under the influence of British rule. Who would commit all these sins, these *mahapatakas,* with a light heart? Who would be so base as not to be a free man in spirit? Who would proclaim his country's shame by participating in these demonstrations?

Therefore, let all men and women beware of the snare before it is too late. Let them look upon everything connected with the British Indian empire with horror and abhorrence — its courts and schools, its councils and offices, its civil functionaries and soldiers, and finally its highest functionary and representative, the coping-stone ot the whole iniquitous structure, the King of England, who calls himself the Emperor of India! Let all true patriots shun every action that helps to consolidate British rule in India by making our children forget that India can never enjoy peace and happiness till the King of England is no more Emperor of India!

A REVOLUTIONARY MANIFESTO

We publish below a manifesto issued by The Indian Revolutionary Cap party entitled « Beware O Traitors! » We are glad to note that while the born toadies and title-seekers of Hindusthan are raising an enormous amount of noise proclaiming their deep sorrow and the profound grief of all Hindusthan at the death of the king of England, the Revolutionary Party has come forward in time, on the 20th of May, to publish a manifesto, emphasising the fact that Edward was not the king of Hindusthan and condemning all those who took part in the funeral procession etc. of Edward as traitors to their country. We understand that the manifesto was circulated all over the world — in England, Hindusthan, France, Germany, the United States of America, Egypt and other countries. Although up to the time of going to the press the Englishpapers have not made any mention of the same, we hope they have read and inwardly digested it.

BEWARE, O TRAITORS!

King Edward is dead. And the crowned heads of Europe and the people of England are vying with each other to pay their respects to the deceased monarch. But, Hindusthanees, what is Edward to us? The so-called Peace-maker of Europe did not lift his little finger where we were concerned! He is painted by his abject flatterers as the most sympathetic amongst the rulers of the world. But, when did he ever show the slightest sympathy to Hindusthan rightly struggling to be free? Brothers, let us understand this clearly. Edward was not our King. He was not our ruler. Hindusthan never acknowledged him as her emperor. And to-day, when we are waging a righteous war against the tyrant nation that is now killing us, when the sacred Command of the Mother has gone forth that our land shall be cleared of those British barbarians, shall Hindusthanees follow the hearse of Edward? Shall they march along like gilded slaves and adorn the Enemy's funeral procession? Shall they cry as some slaves have done, that widowed India is weeping over the death of her beloved husband? Alas. to what lowest depth of shame and degradation are we sunk? Hindusthan, the Eternal Consort of Shri Ram, Her sacred name to be thus dragged in the mire and connected with the name of a Feringhi? May the curse of our Holy Mother fall on those wretches who have desecrated Her sacred name!

And O ye traitors, whether princes or peasants, men or women, who, forgetting the oath that our Forefathers had sworn on the field of Plassey and Agra, Lucknow and Delhi, now follow the hearse of our Hereditary Enemy as his bonded slaves, beware of the fate that is now hanging over you! For Abhinava Bharat has spoken! Young Hindusthan is watching who is true to his land and who is gone over to the Enemy. And the swift vengeance of an awakened people shall descend lightning-like on the heads of those cowards and grovelling wretches, whether in London or Calcutta or Delhi, who lick the boot that kicks them, and those traitors who degrade the fair name of Hindusthan by taking part in to-day's procession!

20th of May 1910. BANDE MATARAM.

BRITISH INTRIGUE IN PERSIA

Recent events have demonstrated that the ancient rivalry between Russia and England for dominion in central Asia has given place to a compact for dividing the spoils. The appearance of Japan on the scene of conflict and the general awakening of oriental nations have induced these erstwhile enemies to conclude alliances and « ententes » for the ruin of Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet. The latest development of this policy is seen in the iniquitous Anglo-Russian alliance relating to Persia which has been concluded with cool cynicism, without any refernce to the actually existing Persian government which is recognised by all the Powers. This transaction

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recalls to our mind the worst days of the eighteenth century politics in Europe when monarchs and their ministers arranged for the cession and partition of countries like so many bales of cotton. England agrees to allow Russia a free hand in dealing with northern Persia, if the latter would leave her in undisturbed possession of her «sphere of influence» in the south. The portion which has been marked out as falling within England's influence is not fertile or attractive for the exploiter. But the region forms part of the direct route to India, and English policy aims at isolating the British Indian empire and rendering all access to it by land as difficult as possible. Thus the servitude of India spells ruin for our neighbours!

It is time that Russian Liberals should see these events in their true colours.

England supports Russia in her efforts to strangle the nationalist movement in Persia. She extends her countenance to the dethroned Shah. She does not openly show her hand in the affair, because she wishes that the autocratic Russian government should bear all the odium attaching to the villainous task of smothering a nation at the moment of its birth. And the Russian liberals agree to become catspaws in England's hands for the execution of this policy, as they fondly imagine that British liberals will sympathise with their attempts to secure internal reforms in the Russian administration. Thus the old hatred and distrust of England which marked the cherished traditional policy of the Russian empire for centuries are gradually giving place to a feeling of cordiality and sympathy for the British nation. But the Russian Liberals behave like children in this matter. They do not fathom the deep designs of this ambitious and crafty nation. England has always used all parties in continental countries for the furtherance of her selfish designs under the pretext of helping the cause of European Liberalism. Since the birth of continental liberalism in the second decade of the nineteenth century, this game has been played with success by all English ministers. Let Russian patriots beware of falling into the trap. We warn the Young Turks too against the wiles of English politicians. Let them study the history of European Liberalism and England's relations therewith since 1820 and they will understand the real trend of her policy. The English people pose as champions of freedom in Russia and Congo but their own government in India is an execrable tyranny of the worst type such as the world has never known before. They are past-masters in the art of political hypocracy.

As for India, we have only to direct the attention of our readers to the lamentable fact that India's slavery prepares the way for the servitude of other nations! The seeds of evil multiply like germs of disease in this world of sin and sorrow. The Hindus have made their fair country the festering sore of oriental politics. They have supplied England with men and money for the furtherance of her designs on Burma, Tibet, Siam, Arabia, China, Afghanistan, and Persia. Themselves fallen from their high estate, they are responsible for the degradation and suffering of other Asiatic peoples! From India, England extends her dead hand over the entire continent of Asia! We should learn to hate ourselves for all the evil that we are thus doing to the world, merely because we *will not* give up the love of pleasure and the love of life when Duty calls us to heroic deeds. When the history of Asia in modern times comes to be written, India's name will be branded with everlasting shame *unless we make haste to be free and repair the wrong we have done to other peoples through the instrumentality of England!*

So, while pondering over British intrigue in Persia, we should always reflect that such an intrigue is possible only because England possesses a base of operations and an inexhaustible supply of men and money in her Indian empire. That is the root of the evil. And we ourselves are responsible for the danger which threatens all Asia at the present moment. Every Indian who does not exert himself to the utmost against British tyranny in India is thus a homicide and a fractricide and carries the mark of Cain on his brow.

OPTIMISM

At the present juncture, many pessimistic predictions are heard on every side. We ourselves have heard comrades giving expression to unworthy sentiments of despair and discouragement. Every effort is naturally followed by a reaction and we are not surprised that several years of unremitting exertion and excitement, attended with heavy sacrifices of men and money, should be followed by a great feeling of bewilderment and fatigue, now that the enemies have adopted the policy of crushing out every vestige of nationalism as far as lies inf their power.

The question of the lotus-eaters is asked by many o the ardent supporters of the cause. Young men in India write that they find themselves without a leader, without guidance, without moral or material support from the society around them. They complain that the people who have hitherto helped the movement are being demoralised by the policy of the government. And in this general panic, the different nuclei of the movement are being broken up. Active workers are forced to flee the country or to remain idle spectators of the ruin of their labours. The trial is especially bitter for our young nationalists within India, who are burning with the desire of serving the country but cannot find any opportunity of carrying out their noble designs. And that is not all. Far worse enemies than the policeman and the magistrate are to be reckoned with. Db. Gokhale with his followers of the now successful Servants of India Society, Mrs. Besant with her influential propaganda and her «Sons of India» society, and the Christian missionaries with their winning ways and their endeavours to direct our young men into peaceful paths of social service — all these elements have to be taken into account. And these agencies are more dangerous for the future of our movement than all persecutions set on foot by the government. For they work by persuasion, by moral means, by captivating the mind and heart of the rising generation. Government can only coerce the body, and the sufferings of our patriots only make our cause more popular among the people. But the members of the Servants of India Society, Mrs. Besant's fellow workers, and the clever missionnaries like Mr. Andrews misguide and misdirect the ardent youths who should bring all their energy and enthusiasm to our movement. And at present, these subtle and powerful antagonists have free scope for their work in India while we are hampered at every step by the wiles of the enemy. Seeing this condition of things, many ask «Watchman, what of the night?»; and we must consider how a way can be found out of the difficulties that beset us. Wisdom consists in forethought and prevision, and unless we exert ourselves at this moment, the forces indicated above will triumph and Young India will be spent on mischievous or profitless objects, for several decades to come. The government can be dispised: it is

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not an enemy to be feared. But those Indians and Englishmen and English-women who work against our ideal with moral weapons, with the force of character and intellect, and who succeed in capturing our zealous and intelligent youths are really to be dreaded as foemen worthy of our steell.

And yet we say to all our comrades:

« And all is well though faith and form
Be sundered in the night of fear,
Well roars the storm to those that hear
A deeper voice across the stream,
Proclaiming Social Truths spread shall
And Justice. »

We must never forget that truth is a great power in itself. Although it can never triumph in the absence of devoted men and women and proper material equipment, yet it can draw men to itself by its natural force of attraction. The casuistries and sophistries preached by our opponents cannot satisfy many young men, who will always revert to the old, old question: « And why should there be any English government in India at all? » For the permanence of the connection between England and India is a common point in the programme of those parties. They wish to divert the attention of Young India from the dangerous ideal of complete independance! For this ideal leads by a natural transition of ideas to secret organisation and war as necessary corollaries. Though much harm will be done by the activity of the abovementioned workers, yet we can be sure that the awakened intellect of New India will not be altogether put on a wrong track, by their endeavours. Fallacies and flaws will be readily detected by many keen minds and the want of consistency and sincerity will alienate many noble spirits from their propaganda.

Again, we must remember that the circulation of our literature in India can never be entirely stopped. We admit that pamphlets and books are poor instruments with which to fight the influence of the attractive personalities that belong to the Servants of India Society or Mrs. Besant's band of theosophists. But we should do what we can. And at present our literature can serve to strengthen the weak, to confirm the wavering, to convince the sceptical, and to inspire the faithful.

Further, we exhort our readers never to forget that martyrdom has already given a great impulse to our Cause. The fact that men have willingly laid down their lives for the ideal of independence stands out in bold relief in the consciousness of all India. Ne repressive measures can blot it out. No arguments of our adversaries can explain it away. Blood is the great cement of the fabric of nationalism. This essential element of all great movements is wanting in the propaganda of at least two of our opponents. Neither Db. Gokhale nor Mrs. Besant can urge their disciples to court death, for their theory of work leaves no room for martyrdom at all. Christian missionaries are better equipped in this respect. But we hope that the unsavory nature of their general religious teaching will preserve our young men from their pernicious influence. Thus our movement rests on firm foundations in that it has already produced many martyrs. We do not contend that this circumstance alone renders us invulnerable for ever. Time effaces the memory even of martyrs. A noble and loveable personality can counteract the effect of their heroism on the minds of succeeding generations. But at present we have a most valuable asset in the exploits of our martyrs whose names and seeds should be spread broadcast among all the people of India. We should concentrate our attention on this branch of our work. A bare enumeration of the names of our hereos with their last words and their photographs is a more effective weapon of propaganda than hundreds of eloquent appeals and articles and books and pamphlets. For what can be more convincing than Death? And what is the use of appeals and articles unless they convey the message, which is transmitted by the heroes to their people: «Die for the cause of freedom, Oh ye that sit in ignoble ease. The way to Liberty passes through the portals of Death! »

Finally, we have the great everlasting weapon of renunciation which never fails. And here we must score a victory over our opponents or we are lost. For history teaches us that movements founded on renunciation have achieved success in spite of all obstacles while great organisations which lacked this force have crumbled into dust at the first attack of men inspired with the power of renunciation. And our beloved country is fertile in examples. The conditions of society too are eminently fitted for the practice of the ideal of renunciation. No difficulties exist for the determined aspirant, for the path has been made easy and smooth by previous workers. All social institutions facilitate the progress of those who start on this career. Renunciation is the salt of society which preserves it from putrefaction. And it is the only power that can raise India from the fallen condition. We have searched long for a remedy for the ills that afflict our countrymen. We have questioned sages and statesmen; we have interrogated History and Philosophy and Sociology; we have scanned the past and surveyed the present with a keen critical eye. And the only answer that we have received is this that only through the power of renunciation can the nation be cured of its weakness.

Therefore, oh ye young men of India who may be perplexed in your mind in the present political crisis, hasten to bring this life-giving remedy for your nation which is sick unto Death. In India there is no difficulty in your way. You see all the old methods of work failing one by one. Boycott and arbitration and national schools and journals and meetings, all are gone or going. But there is one resource which cannot fail. There is one power which is as much stronger than all these as the moon is brighter than all the stars. Hence, though you may not find any teachers, though all your political leaders may be in prison or exile, though our literature may not reach you, though you may not be in touch with any of our comrades — remember that within yourself you possess an eternal source of life and light which can enable you to put new life into your nation wherever you may find yourself. Leave your homes, your beloved relatives, your ancestral fireside, your friends, your projects for the future, your careers and dreams of worldly success — leave all these, wander forth and teach the peasants. You require no association, no political leader, no journals to help you in this. Do this first. Wander forth. Prove that you do not love these things which are so dear to all. And slowly you will get all that is necessary — inner power, wisdom, and knowledge. Thus the plans of our enemies of Poona and Benares will be thwarted. Thus we shall bring to our cause a power greater than that of all the little creatures who try to misdirect the energies of our young men at this crisis. Thus with the fourfold strength of Truth, and our written word, and Martyrdom and Renunciation, we will conquer. Let no one be discouraged! India has in her armoury weapons of extraordinary power which we shall make use of. Lo! We string our heavenly Gandiva and let all our enemies beware!

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THE
BANDE MATARAM
A Monthly Organ of Indian Independence

« Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves
Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your libération with diligence. »
(Gautama Buddha).

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France, the land of liberty
An Appeal to Indian Students

FRANCE AND ENGLAND - A CONTRAST

A lamentable phenomenon of modern Indian sociéty is the increase in the number of students who flock to England for study. Many come for that paradise of lazy, rich, and dull aristocratsthe Inns of court. Others aspire to the prizes of Imperial Services. A few go to Manchester for industrial training and a large number to Edinburgh for medicine. Apart from students, many leisured and wealthy people visit England occasionally on a trip. This custom of running to England for education or pleasure shows how demoralised our nation has become. It proves that England has obtained mastery of our intellectual life and that we are not only the slaves but also the pupils of our conquerors. It tightens the bonds that bind us to the footstool of our rulers. It makes our young men cherish the ambition of going to England as a pious man thinks of making a pilgrimage to the shrines of his religion. We propose to discuss the evil effects of this growing tendency and wish to direct the attention of Indian students to the necessity and usefulness of receiving education in other European countries, especially in France the most advanced of all countries in the world.

The students who read in English schools and colleges must conform to the rules and regulations of those institutions. They must pretend not to be disloyal, for the religion of the Briton is Empire-worship and not Christianity, They must join in demonstrations of loyalty organised by some noisy self-seekers who infest London at present; or they would run the risk of being expelled from the colleges. They must drink the toast to the « King » at all social functions; otherwise, the would become marked men and lose their prospects. They must dissemble their opinions on Indian politics in the presence of those pestilential Anglo-Indians who make it their business to thrust their acquaintance on Indian students and to ask their views on all political matters. They must school themselves well in hypocrisy and reticence and worldly wisdom at a period when young men should, above all, be frank and impulsive and outspoken. Thus, the character suffers immensely. Our young men are demoralised beyond measure. They walk as if they were pursued by shadows. They talk as if walls had ears. They learn the arts of equivocation, prevarication, and dissimulation with assiduity; for, there looms before their eyes the question of their future career which is at the mercy of Anglo-Indian officialdom. No young man can hope to escape the society of these meddlesome retired Anglo-Indians. Their lives illustrate the familiar proverb that « Satan finds some mischief still, for idle hands to do ». They fatten on their ill-gotten pensions and weave fresh plots against the Indians whose salt they have eaten. Like serpents, they creep into your confidence; like burs, they cling to your coat-tail. They ask you to tea; if you don't go, they are not to repulsed. They try, try, and try again: they invite themselves to tea at your place! Their venomous smiles and sympathy are always at your service. If you catch a cold, they write to you letters expressing their anxious concern; if you get bronchitis, they are overwhelmed with sorrow. They attend meetings to which they are not invited; they offer subscriptions when nobody wants their help. They ubiquitous activity never flags. They teach their pretty daughters to smiles sweetly for the benefit of Indian students. They organise parties and fetes for them. These grey spiders are always on the watch for their prey. And many simple and honest youths, inexperienced in the ways of the world, fall into their net and are flattered at being spo ken to by a retired commissioner, at being received by the niece of a retired lieutenant-governor's nephew. They write home that they have obtained such a great honour and they poor enslaved wretched relatives are over-joyed for they are not only Pariahs in position but also in mind and spirit. These surroundings are the worst possible for a young man. They crush and smother his moral nature. Instead of straightforward, independent, honest youths, the pride and glory of a nation, we have those dirty caricatures of manhood, sleek, smooth, smirking, conscienceless, and « worldly-wise » men, without grit, withouth back-bone, combining in their character the vices of both the East and West. This process would mean the death of whatever remnants of virtue are still found among our upper and middle-classes.

And then, after character comes the question of ideas. What ideas and ideals of life can they learn in English society? They meet landladies and their daughters, Anglo-Indians and their daughters, that's all. They live in the midst of a people who are proud to call themselves the « subjetcs » of an old, idiotic, bebauched reprobate who is called a «king». They learn that a number of licentious landlords, in the intervals of drinking bouts and orgies, can over-rule the voice of the nation. They see that the vicious

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evil-liver, the king, is the head of the church of Christ and appoints bishops and archbishops. Everywhere around them they see feudalism, hypocrisy, and absurdity. They cannot know the great thought currents of the modern world in this medieval backward England. They can learn the greatness of beef and beer and the king and the lords. They cannot know the meaning of democracy, of the modern state, of social equality, of free-thought, of individual religion in this dull-witted society. For England has no ideas, it always borrows them. It lags behind other nations in social progress. It preserves madieval institutions which would strike a Frenchman or an American with horror and dismay.

On the contrary, if our young men went to that land of Lands-France, the home of all art and culture, the mother of ideas and ideals, they will return to India thoroughly educated men in the real sense of the word men with well developed character and sound ideas of modern type. Look at the surroundings of French society. England is a monarchy, based on the hereditary right of a king and the lords. The Frenchmen are the fellow-citizens of their president, whom they elect. The English are subjects of a king produced for them by the previously reigning king.

In France the meanest man can aspire to the rank of Premier. In England, the highest rank in society is occupied by the lords and ladies, the products of the numerous love affairs of various English monarchs and among whom morality is conspicuous by ist absence. France is the land of freedom, of civilisation, of knowledge. The French are in the van of human progress. Even Mr. Roosevelt could not avoid paying them the compliment that they were the first nation in the arts of life. There is a saying that every well-educated man has two countries, his own and France. France is the intellectual master and guide of the world. Her throne is Paris and her mandate is obeyed from Constantinople to Chili. French is the language of culture and polite society in Russia, Poland, Greece, Italy, Spain, Egypt, Turkey, and other countries. It is the language of Rousseau — the Apostle of the French Revolution, of Voltaire — the Hammer of the « Infamous », of Comte the Philosopher of Humanity, of Napoleon the builder of modern Europe. France speaks and the world listens. England has material wealth, commerce, empire; but France has the imperishable wealth of Intellect. Her empire is deep-rooted in the hearts and minds of men; it is not based upon bayonets. France has guided the destinies of Europe for 150 years. In 1789, she said: Let there be light. Europe awoke from the sleep of centuries, and autocracy and bigotry fell like the walls of Jericho before the trumpets blast. Then Napoleon the Incarnation of French Genius led the French on a pilgrimage of Deliverance in Europe.

Modern Germany owes its birth to Napoleon. The history of Italian unity begins with Napoleon's name. The French under him cleared this Augean stable of medieval Europe, with its wretched courts and despotism, and ecclesiatical tyranny and popular ignorance. France gives the law to the world. Students flock to Paris from China and Japan, Poland and Turkey, Italy and America. Who goes to England for study? Only the subject races of the British empire and none else! Mr. Bryce, in his book on the « American Republic » says that American professors send the ir graduates to Germany and Franc for higher education and not to England, where education is very backward and superficial. France is the centre of art and learning. Beauty and freedom, joy and equality place their evergreen laurel-crown on her brow. Compare the national anthem of France and England. The Englishman says « God save the king! », invoking blessings on the exploded political superstition of monarchy. The Marseillaise, on the contrary, has been adopted and translated by all nations. The Turks have borrowed it. Carlyle could not restrain his enthusiasm in its praise. All European nations have drawn their inspiration from France. Prince Kropotkin mentions in his memoirs that the first impulse towards the movement of freedom came to him after the study of the history of the French Revolution. Turkey has been reorganised and reformed by persons brought up in French culture and ideas. Russian students flock in thousands to Paris and learn the great ideas that are revolution ising the world. France is the refuge of the downtrodden and oppressed of all lands. She stands as the champion of liberty with the pen in one hand and the sword in the other. She welcomes all the sufferers for the cause of Freedom with open arms. She is the Sanctuary of Liberty. As Victor Hugo sang of Paris:

Les tyrans dans leur camps,
Les hibous dans leurs trous,
Le craignent.

(The tyrants in their camp, the owls in their holes, fear Paris!) From every corner of the world they come, the Pilgrims of Freedom, with the palm-branch of exile and suffering in their hands, and find sympaty and hospitality under the ever-victorious Tri-colour. And we too, persecuted children of Hindusthan. representatives of an ancient and mighty race, whose life-history dates back to the hoary past, whose ancestors were the compeers of Nineveh and Babylon, Tyr and Sidon, Athens and Rome — we too now fallen on evil days, bow before thy shining throne, O Immortal France, even as the grey-headed Magi worshipped the infant Christ. We too have seen thy shrine, O thou queen of the World, who proclaims to all soldiers of the Cause of Freedom among all nations: Come untome, ye who are sorrowful and heavy-laden, and I will give you rest! And ye, O ye Indian students — why do you not come to this great and ancient land of Freedom, Art, and Learning for your education? Leave the habits of slaves: Turn away your faces from London and Manchester. France offers the best education only at a nominal cost. She does not shut the portals of the Temple of Knowledge in the face of the poor. She keeps abreast of all modern developments, while England keeps her educational system unretormed. Come to France, come to Paris — the Eye of Europe, the Light of the World, in whose praise Victor Hugo sang with just pride:

Sans Paris, l'avenir naîtra reptile et nu.
Paris donne un manteau de lumière aux idées.
Les erreurs, s'il les a seulement regardées,
Tremblent subitement et s'écroulent, ayant
En elles le rayon de cet œil foudroyant.
. . . . . .
Paris règne. Paris en existant, délivre.
Par cela seul qu'il est, le monde est rassuré
. . . . . Il cherche, il crée, il fonde,
Et ce que Paris trouve est trouvé pour le monde.
. . . . . .
Un mot que dit Paris est un ambassadeur,
Paris sème des lois dans toute profondeur.
. . . . . .
Sa grande loi Combattre a pour principe Aimer.
. . . . . .

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Lieu d'éclosion ! Centre éclatant et sonore
Où tous les avenirs trouvent toute l'aurore !
O rendez-vous sacré de tout les lendemains
Point d'intersection des vastes pas humains !
Paris, ville ! esprit ! voix ! tu parles, tu rédiges,
Tu décrètes, tu veux ! Chez toi tous les prodiges
Viennent se rencontrer comme en leur carrefour :
Du paria de l'Inde au nègre du Darfour,
Tout sent un tremblement si ton pavé remue !

(Without Paris, the future would dawn mean and lustreless. Paris gives a halo of light to ideas. Errors suddenly tremble and crumble to the ground, if Paris has only once looked at them, and the light of its lightning-eye has penetrated them. Paris rules. Paris by its existence gives deliverance. By the very fact of its existence, the world is reassured. It is the seeker, the creator, the founder. And that which Paris discovers is discovered for the whole world. A word uttered by Paris is a messenger. Paris sows the seed of laws in all the depths of the universe. Her great law, Fight, is based on the principle, Love ! O birthplace of the future ! O shining and resounding centre where all the Futures find their dawn ! O sacred meeting-place of all the Tomorrows ! O meeting point of the vast steps of human progress! Paris! Town! Spirit! voice! Thou speakest, thou drawest up, thou decreest, thou willest ! In thee, all wonders meet as in a public square ! From the Pariah of India to the Negro of Darfour, all feel a thrill if the stones of thy streets are moved !)

Notes and Comments

Deshbhakta Savackar

The elaborate farce, which was dignified with the name of a trial has resulted in the confirmation of the sentence of extradition from England. It was a foregone conclusion. Political trials are as a rule only a mockery and a show. The victim of triumphant vengeance can never get a hearing, and the persecutors are themselves the judges. How can an appeal from John Bull to John Bull meet with any success ?

The trial has revealed the vindictive spirit of our enemies. The option of being tried in England, which was allowed even by law was not accorded.

Let our people now know that the British Empire is one vast machine, the different parts of which act in harmony with one another. The whole accursed thing is governed by the same law of selfish Imperialism, whether it be England, or South Africa or India or New Zealand. Let them know that it is not only the British administration of India that they have to cope with, but the whole organisation of this blood-stained imperial concern. The English and the colonial police and judiciary work in concert with the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy for the destruction of Indian patriots. The struggle has taken a wider range. Every Indian patriot should think that he is fighting not merely the Indian government but the Union Jack wherever it floats. We accept the challenge implied in the condemnation of Deshbandhu Savarkar by the London courts.

UNEXPECTED ALLIES

A Lesson for Educated Indians

Misfortunes never come single. This saying is illustrated by the present position of the British government. It is menaced by the bomb, the pistol, the seditious leaflet, and the nationalist preacher. But enemies of more resolute calibre are not wanting. The Revolutionary party has found allies in an unlooked-for quarter. The newspapers re port that the Santals of a certain district, armed with bows and arrows have given notice to the magistrate that the British government must evacuate their territory immediately or war will be declared ! And in Bengal, a Mahomedan preacher has already proclaimed himself independent sovereign of India and has declared Jehad against the British. He has 200 followers. Of course he has been arrested. But the spirit underlying these demonstrations is admirable. We who are more intelligent and far sighted may smile at the childish enthusiasm of the Santals and the Moulvie's followers. But these brave men err through want of knowledge and not through cowardice or indifference. They are ready to die for their ideal. How refreshing it is to hear that someone at least, be he only a Mahomedan preacher with 200 followers, has had the superbe courage to proclaim himself independent sovereign of India at a time when prince and peasant are bowing in homage to the name of George V. As it is written, He has put wisdom in the mouth of children and new-born babes How much nobler these untutored men are than our well-educated, cultured men who have read history and politics and who know all the evils of foreign rule but who do not raise a finger against the government on account of cowardice and selfishness ! We want the intellect of the educated classes combined with the dash and heroism of these Santals and Ghazis. But it is all the same much nobler to be a brave and patriotic savage without political insight than a mean and calculating educated person without a spark of generous impulses. The Santals have given a n object lesson to all India. They have given an example of *the spirit* which should animate us all and wich, in combination with brain, can achieve the freedom of India. They have the hearts of freemen with only the minds of savages. But our educated men have the intellectual equipment of civilised men with the hearts of Pariahs. And if we were asked to make the choice, we would rather be one of the Santals who have demanded the immediate evacuation of their district by the British government than a Gokhale, a Mehta, or a Rashvihari Ghose.

THE MORAL BLEEDING : Drain from Every Limb

The death of Edward VII has opened the floodgates of moral turpitude in Indian society, as a stone thrown into a stangnant pond brings up all the filth and scum from the bottom. It has proved to be the signal for the exhibition of all the meanness, baseness, and hypocrisy which lie hidden in the depths of the hearts of our people. It has revealed the fact that no part of the social system is in a healthy and normal condition. The leprosy of moral degradation has touched all the limbs of the body politic. And neither religion nor national pride nor common honesty nor even indolence has proved a safeguard against the danger of gradual moral suicide which all subject races have to face. We give a series of news to illustrate our point.

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There was a processuon of the Hindus of Calcutta as a sign of mourning. The Maharajah of Durbhainga, head of the Sanatana Dharma Mahamandal, has offered to pay for the statue of Eward VII. The Allahabad Arya Samaj has passed a resolution expressing sincere sorrow. Prof. Welinker of the newly opened Dayal Singh College at Lahore delivered a sermon on Edward in the Brahmo Mandir. Pandit Deen Dayal of the Orthodox Hindu faith delivered a lecture on Raja-Bhakti or loyalty under the presidency of P. C. Chatterji retired judge and a pillar of Hindu « Orthodoxy ».

This is only a selection from among the thousand items of news announcing that political societies, religious associations, and persons of rank and culture have been simply overwhelmed and paralysed with sorrow and despair on hearing of the death of an old debauched idler, 7000 miles away, whom they have never seen and who has never done them any good whatever.

Now, could one think of such a phenomenon happening in the 17 th and 18 th century under Muslim rule? Did Brahmins express much sorrow at the death of Baber or Ferozeshah? We can thus measure the decline in social vitality since that period. And why should all religious bodies be so smitten with grief? Do the Vedas enjoin such hypocritical loyalty? Is it a tenet of the Brahmo Samaj that the Indians should hug their chains? Religion is not to blame. It is the votaries whe drag it in the mire, out of cowardice and fear. Do the orthodox Hindus not know that Edward VII's government deliberately permits the conversion of Hindus to Christianity, pays bishops and missionaries out of the revenues, and feeds its armies on beef? Then why this out burst of loyalty?

The nation wants a Conscience. When it sees the right it cannot follow it on account of Self-worship.

LEST WE FORGET

On the first of July last year our hero-martyr Madanlal Dhingra attained to perfection of character by total renunciation of Self He proved to the world that the oppressed and downtrodden people of our country had found a champion whose hand could smite the tyrant in his pride and bring joy and hope to many a lonely and humble home made desolate by pitiless greed. He embodied in himself the wrath, indignation, self-possession and daring of modern India, and in his noble figure, defying Death and scorning Life, young India saw the incarnation of her highest hopes and her fondest dreams. India waits for the Kalki tenth avatar who should destroy the foreign demon.

But it would be a sad misinterpretation of the ancient legend to suppose that it refers to a single individual. Rather it should be taken to point to the million armed Heroism of the Revolution, which takes a form like that which Sri Krishna revealed to the dazzled eyes of Arjuna on the battleffield and on whose multiform head one already can see the features of Khudiram, Profulla, Bose, Kanai, Charuchander, Gupta, Dhingra and Kanhere, all making a resplendent whole endowed with one life, inspired with one will. And thus Dhingra, merging his personality in that of the infinite and eternal moral energy of humanity, became a part of that from which all good things proceed. What nobler destiny can one aspire to?

We revert to this theme now, in order that the lesson of self-denial and heroism which his death teaches us should not be forgotten.

When a nation forgets its benefactors and heroes, history forgets that nation. And what better cure for our selfishness and cowardice can be found than the remembrance of those who have shaken off these besetting sins of frail humanity and risen toa higher level of thought and action. And at this time, our thoughts take a wider range. We despise that miserable form of patriotism which does not look beyond asingle people or country. We rejoice at every blow dealt to that monster of iniquity which is known as British Imperialism. And a message has flashed on the wires which tells us that the ancient and lovely land of Egypt now has entered enthe path of freedom, for our beloved Wardani has been crowned with the wreath of martyrdom and we couple his name with Dhingra in this our humble tribute to the memory of our martyrs. For Wardani is ours, as Washington and Mazzini and Sivaji and Buddha and St-Francis are ours. They are all ours — all who have broken the fetters of Self and thus taught us how to live and how to die. Idealism is one, as Humanity is one and Evil is one.

And in recognising this fundamental unity of the Law that governs the world under various forms, we only express that sentiment of the Brotherhood of man, without which Freedom is a snare and strength is a curse for every nation. So we appeal to the young men of Egypt to look at Wardani's face on the scaffold and be healed of the vices that are eating into the vitals of their society.

Froude says «There are epidemics of nobleness as there epidemics of disease» Let an «epidemic» of nobleness spread through all fallen nations, cleansing and purifying their souls. Let the names of Dhingra and Wardani be like charms to eorcise the evil spiritsn which possess the body of decadent nations.

Let us learn that life is uncertain and death is inevitable. Hasten therefore, O my friends, to live or to die nobly and virtuously! What good is there in ignoble life, which fears pain and death, or in ignoble death which clings regretfully to life? What hapiness is there in the dull meaning-less routine of selfish worldliness? The field of heroism is vast. No young Alexander here need despair that there are no more realms for him to conquer. Misery and pain surround us on every side, even as the air we breathe. Man is the wolf of man, and our fair earth has been turned into a reeking slaughterhouse by cruel oppressors on the one hand and their cowardly saves on the other. Come forth, then, O young men of all nations. from the corners where you are hidden, dreaming your dreams of happiness, come forth and take your place in the world's army of workers. Do what your genius leads you to. War with pain and suffering in all its forms. Punish the wicked or console the afflicted, or raise the fallen, or inspire the faltering, or purify the hearts and minds of men. Do something. Be martyrs or apostles. Join any movement, which seems good in your eyes.

If death calls you, die in the glorious, struggle now. If life calls you, live as a fighter. This is the lesson of the life and death of Dhingra and Wardhani, whose names shall ever stand as symbols of Renunciation and Heroism for all time to come.

« Life or Death, then, who shall heed it, what we gain or what we lose?

Fair flies life amid the struggle and the cause for each shall choose ».

(W. Morris.)

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DESHBHAKTA SAVARKAR

We informed our readers last month that the British authorities in London had ordered comrade Savarkar to be sent back to India for trial.

This feat of vindictive fury has brought its Nemesis! For plucky Desh. Savarkar actually managed to escape from his cabin through a porthole while the steamer, which was taking him to Bombay, lay at anchor at Marseilles on the 7th of July. For the information of those readers who are not in touch with the French press, we relate the incident and the diplomatic negotiations that have resulted from it and draw the attention of our Indian friends to a few lessons that can be drawn from it. Deshbhakta Savarkar got through a porthole, threw himself into the sea, swam ashore to the quay, and actually landed on French soil and ran some 400 yards. He was thus entitled to the protection of the French flag as a political refugee. But our comrade's bravery did not avail at the moment, as — through a combination of suspicious circumstances — the French policemen arrested him and, without any formalities of extradition, handed him over to the English guard, on the latter crying "Thief! Thief!" in order to mislead the French police. No one shall ever know the motives that led the French policemen to act in this arbitrary and illegal manner.

But, if the English guards had imagined that they had thus secured an easy victory, they were doomed to disappointment. For, as soon as the news was published in the continental "Daily Mail" on the 11th of July, Paris comrades clearly saw that Deshbhakta Savarkar's arrest was illegal according to French and international law — for, a political refugee can never be handed over to his enemies like an ordinary criminal. It was at once resolved to approach the French government on the subject, to agitate in the French Press, to rouse public opinion all over the world, and to demand the restoration of Deshbhaçta Savarkar to liberty on the ground that he was a free man, protected by the right of political asylum as soon as he landed in France, and that the action of the French policemen in arresting him and extraditing him was altogether unjustifiable.

Our friends of the Socialist party were the first to take up our cause, and l'*Humanité*, the most influential Socialist dailly in Paris, came out with a forcible article on the 12th of July under the heading " An attack on the rights of man". It demanded an administrative inquiry. Further articles followed on the succeeding days. Mr. Jaurès the renowned leader of the French Socialist party expressed great sympathy and drew the attention of the French ministers to the affair. The matter was also put in an informal, but very effective, manner at the Socialist Congress which was held in Paris on the 14th and 15th of July. Roused by the protests of l'*Humanité* in which our esteemed and able comrade, M. Jean Longuet, never ceased to press our point, and the letters which were sent to every French paper of any importance, other French journals began to take interest in the matter. It was seen that the national honour of France was concerned in the affair and that a violation of the right of political asylum had been committed at Marseilles. After a few days, le *Temps*, la *Patrie*, la *Libre Parole*, l'*Eclair*, la *Liberté*, les *Nouvelles*, le *Soleil*, la *Lanterne*, le *Matin*, le *Journal*, le *Journal des Débats*, and other important newspapers of all shades of political opinion joined the fray and public opinion in France loudly demanded that Desh Savarkar should be restored to liberty in France. The French government, having made a preliminary inquiry officially, moved in the matter and presented a note to the London Foreign Office, asking that the British Government should suspend trial in Desh Savarkar's case till all papers connected with the affair had been presented to the French authorities. Italian democrats et Genoa passed a resolution expressing sympathy with Desh. Savarkar. L'*Action* of Paris published a biographical sketch and extracts from Desh. Savarkar's poems and letters.

A few days later, another note was presented by the French government, asking that Desh. Savarkar should either be handed over to the French government or set at liberty government in violation of an existing treaty had not informed the French authorities that a political prisoner was being detained on board the steamer at Marseille and as it had lost all right of control over the prisoner the moment the latter landed on French soil. This admirably worded document has not been replied to, for the British government wishes to take time and try to evade international law if possible. But there is every reason to hope that the action of the French government will bring about the desired result rnd that our comrade will be free soon.

Such is the story of the escape of Desh. Savarkar, of the agitation in the French press, and of the decisive and generous

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action of the French government. Let the readers note that the generally prevailing idea of the onnipotence of British administration is erroneous. We learned the same lesson two years ago when our party could smuggle arms into Alipore prison, and again this year when Desh. Arabindo Ghose and Ajit Singh could outwit the agents of tyranny and escape from Britsh India unscathed. And Deshbhakta Savarkar's escape is another incident which shows that we must not exaggerate the efficiency of the administrative system against which we have to fight. The myth of the indefatigable vigilance and energy of the British officials and their hireling must be exposed in order that the revolutionary societies should take heart and devise proper measures for the furtherance of the Cause in the midst of emergencies.

Again, it has given us much delight and encouragement to observe the noble stand made by the French press in this matter. All journals without distinction of party have advocated our Cause with uncompromising energy. Various papers have reminded the English with fine irony that England has been the foremost champions of the right of political asylum in their past! This outburst of sympathy with our claim has surpised even our enemies who find themselves in a very uncomfortable situation. We thank our contemporaries of the French press and the entire French nation for their sympathy.

In conclusion, we convey to our comrades in all countries a message of hope for the future. The long arm of Britain cannot reach Indian patriots living in free countries which defend a single stranger's liberty with all their might! What a contrast to our own country where Indians are employed to deprive their own brethren of their freedom! Let all Indians be assured that the Revolutionary Party cannot be crushed so long as free countries accord the right of politicol asylum to the political refugees of every nation.

THE HINDUS OF PESHAWAR

*We have heard much about the riots and raids from which the Hindus of Peshawar have lately suffered. The daring of the border-tribes and the fanaticism of a section of Muhammadan rowdies have always been the scourge of the timid Hindu population of the North-Western frontier. The British rulers of India take advantage of these circumstances to stir up strife and disorder in order to play the part of arbiter and judge after trouble has arisen. The Hindus of the Punjab had been moaning and whining and the newly established Hindu Sabha has sent a deputation and a petition to the local and Imperial governments, on the subjects. The grievance of the Peshawar Hindus seems to rouse much sympathy and indignation throughout India. They blame the government for not taking proper measures for their protection against Muhammadan rowdies during the Holi festival and for showing culpable leniency to the guilty party after the Hindus had been robbed and bullied by bands of lawless ruffians.

Now, we must frankly admit that we have no sympathy with all this suffering. As members of the Indian nation, the Hindus of Peshawar are bone of our bone and flesh of hour flesh, and we are the champions of suffering humanity in all parts of the world. In view of this mission, it may seem strange that we do not sympathise with our afflicted Hindu brethren who have been plundered and insulted by a lawless mob. But it is easy to understand our attitude when we declare that we sympathise with suffering and *struggling* humanity, not merely with suffering humanity as such. Pity, compassion, contempt, anger, love, — all these feelings by turns animate us, but we do not extend to them our sympathy for sympathy implies respect aud comradeship. Now, how can we accord generous recognition to cowardice and social atrophy? How can we esteen a population devoid of manliness and organising faculty?

If the Hindus of Peshawar cannot defend themselves and their homes against rowdies, they have no right to have any homes. It is inconceivable that a self-respecting manly community should be so helpless and inert in the face of common danger. The Hindus of Peshawar had no need of a military guard to protect them against a mere mob of rowdies, such as are found ine very large town. Is the Hindu population of Peshawar composed of old women and children? Are there no young men among them between the age of 15 and 60? Are these young men cripples? Or have they all lost their right arms in accidents? Have they never heard of such things as swords and fire-arms, or sword-sticks and spears? What were these young men doing on this occasion? No spectacle can be sadder than that of a community waiting for a British guard to celebrate what it calls its festivals! Such a community has no right to exist, much less to have festivals and public rejoicings of any kind. And when it gets what it deserves, it howls and shrieks likea paralysed man. We have no sympathy with the complaints and grievances of such emasculated, selfish, cowardly creatures who call themselves Hindus. We think they are a disgrace to the nation and we cannot console them in any way in their wœ-begone condition. All happiness depends on the fulfilment of certain duties. If these duties are neglected, the individual and the community lose their right to the conditions of welfare which they covet. A people that desire to celebrate festivals should be prepared to defend their hearths and homes and their institutions with their lives. No Nation can enjoy the blessings of civilisation without undergoing the sacrifices that they demand. But, we try to cheat Nature!

If the Peshawar Hindus think that our advice cannot be acted upon, let them reflect upon the lessons of the anti-Japanese riots in California and of the anti-Hindu disturbances in Comilla, Bengal. The Japanese colony in America threw up barricades and defended itself with such vigour that the American hooligans did not molest it any longer. And nearer home, we can learn much from the efficiency and energy with which the hindus of Comilla quelled the disorder in their town without the help of the British official who actually encouraged the rioters. The Bengali Hindus rose as one man, thrashed the rowdies, formed bands of nationalist volunteers, armed themselves with revolvers and lathis, and put to flight the hirelings of the government in no time. As soon as the ruffians heard the revolver-shot which laid one of them low, they gave up the game. For, bullies are cowed down only by the exibition of superior strength. Why can the Peshawar Hindus not follow the example set by the people of Comilla under exactly similar circumstances. What prevents them? They are cowardly and selfish. In other words, they love ignoble ease and cling to life when duty calls them to brave danger and death in a struggle with the enemies of the community.

It is not the duty of a foreign government to protect the Hindus

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during their festivals. The foreign government is not there for this purpose. It exists for the furtherance of the material interests of the English people. It carries out its object with persistence and wisdom. It is absurd to blame it for the misfortunes which are due to our own faults. As well the shepherd might revile the wolf for not taking care of his sheep !

Evil deeds, like birds, come home to roost ! Whenever you find any evil in your country — plague or famine or malaria or ignorance or lawlessness or poverty — you must trace it to its origin. Do not be content with the superficial explanation that it is due to the British government or Chance or the law of Evolution or the Divine Dispensation. Go to the root of the matter and you will find that all good, as well as all evil, proceed from the Self, the Nation-Self which is only a reflection of the Individual Self. The Nation self is responsible for all the misery of the land. And the pitiable condition of the Peshawar Hindus is only one illustration of this universal truth.

Notes and Comments

A BRAVE COMRADE

We have much pleasure in reproducing a letter, which has been addressed by Deshbhakta V. V. S. Aiyar — our devoted and noble comrade — to the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, London.

To the Benchers of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn

From V. V. S. Aiyar, Student of Law, Lincoln's Inn.

Gentlenen.

I joined the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn on the 28th of October, 1907, with the object of being called to the Bar and have passed all the examinations including the Final.

But now I find that my countrymen have started a movement with the object and intention of establishing an Independent National Government in Hindusthan. Under the circumstances, it is the paramount duty of every son of Hindusthan to join in the sacred work of obeying and realising the declared will of his nation and to cease to seek any advancemment or preferment through any Britsh institution. It has, the e refore, become impossible for me to continue a member of your society or think of getting myself called to the English Bar.

I desire therefore to resign my membership n the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn.

And I request you to accept my resignation and to return me to the address above the deposit of L. 50 that I left with you on the 28 th of October.

I remain, Gentemen,
Yours truly,
V. V. S. AIYAR.

We heartily congratulate our heroic comrade on his brave action. All Nationalists, nay, all honest menold that an Indian should not at least help in the consolidation of British rule in India. That is the minimum of patriotic effort, which may be demanded of every Indian who is not a hopeless selfseeker. And participation in the institutions of the British Empire-its councils, its courts, its Services, and its schools-strengthens it and renders it almost invulnerable, for it destroys the sense of national individuality and social duty in the mind of the subject races. The Inns of Court are distinctly an Imperial institution : their diploma entitles a man to earn money only by popularising and perpetuating the British Empire. It is not of any value even in our own half-independent States. Thus the students, who join this institution, desire to be admitted to the privileges of slavery, as a dog waits for the crumbs that fall from his master's table.

Deshbandhu Aiyar has set an example of moral courage and regard for Principle which we invite all other Indians to follow. And he has done so at considerable sacrifice of his personal interests. All moral effort spells sacrifice. He has wiped away the last stain of slavery from his idealistic brow. We want brave honest men like him at this juncture. For nations are not raised by cunning and craftiness, tricks and subterfuges, policies and programmes, but by that Moral Sense, which makes men love Truth and Duty and Principle « in the scorn of consequence ». There are many Indian youths, who prate of freedom and the overthrow of British rule, but who are not prepared to cease from helping the enemy in one way or another. They talk of demolishing an edifice of which they are strengthening the foundations by their daily actions. One honest deed is worth a hundred perfervid orations on the hypocrisy and wickedness of England.

Those who do not take the first step have no right to talk of high ideals. Hence we direct the attention of all our students to the noble example set by Deshbandhu Aiyar. Let others go where he has led the way. Let them *first* abandon the desire of enriching themselves by taking service under the Government or practising as lawyers in its courts. Let them remember that the English are not to be driven out of India by tall talk and rhetoric and mere political scheming, but by our producing men like Washington, Hampden, Chathan, Pitt, Gordon, Mill, Abraham Lincoln and others who have made the Anglo-Saxon race great, men such as Lowell asked God to give to the world :

« Men whom the lust of office does not kill,
Men whom the spoils of office do not buy,
Men who possess opinions and a will,
Men who have honour, men who will not lie ;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking. »

LEST WE FORGET

The month of August is full of sacred memories for us. For, on the 10th of August, 1908, Khudiram Bose — the hero-martyr — passed away from this world of sin and sorrow, giving his life to lighten the burden of its misery. And on the 17th of the same month last year, Madan Lal Dhingra — the young lion of the Panjab, followed the footsteps of the martyrs who had gone before. The calendar of new India is beginning to count its red-letter days, recalling the life and death of saints and martyrs. Reverent remembrance of their sayings and doings can be a means of valuable moral guidance for us. For, the tidings that one person has laid down his life for an ideal is worth a thousand sermons on the duty of self-sacrifice and the vanity of earthly happiness. Death, the curse of Humanity, thus becomes the fruitful soil from which all blessings spring. Oh the magic power of the martyr's voluntary death which transforms the dreadful calamity into an omen of joy and transmutes the pain of

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lifelong separation from comrades into the over-present fervour of inspiration! Truly, Khudiram and Dhingra could say with the poet :

Oh Death, where is thy sting ?
Oh grave, where is thy victory ?

On these days then, let us ponder on the lessons of their lives. They too could have lived and enjoyed the so-called pleasures of life, if they had chosen. They too could have claimed "the harvest of their youthful joys" — the happiness of domestic life and the charms of worldly rank and wealth and comfort. They too could have lived like other men, if they had liked. But they cared not for these fleeting shows. They renounced them of their own free will. Let us then learn to make great sacrifices for the Cause so that we may carry on their mission. Let us die like them now, or live as if we were dead to the world. Then alone shall we worthily celebrate the anniversaries of their canonisation!

SOME HINTS ON PRACTICAL PROPAGANDA

The work of prachar, of spreading the gospel of Freedom and Unity, of converting others to the Truth that we cherish, of admitting new comrades to the Fraternity to which we belong, is *the most important part* of our activity at present. This work is sacred and must be undertaken in a spirit of reverence and self-denial. It is the greatest mission to which we are called at this moment. All India is waiting to ke baptised with fire, and the apostles who are to give her new life are wanting. *The harvest is plenteous but the labourers are few.*

But prachar is an art. It must be learned patiently and strenuously. It is not a gift of Nature. It is not to be acquired haphazard. A man cannot be a blacksmith or an engineer or a tailor without a course of special training at an institute. Then, is it possible that a propagandist, a messenger of the Revolution who has to deal with national questions and with the hearts and minds of men and women, should become expert in this art without careful forethought and earnest preparation? Propaganda without preparation means social quackery and must therefore aggravate the disease instead of curing it.

All workers who wish to spread the good tidings among others have felt certain difficulties in their way at some time or other. We propose to give some useful hints on the practical side of this all-important work.

First, the propagandist must pick and choose among persons of his acquaintance in order to see who are the fittest to receive the truth. All men and women are not to be approached indiscriminately. There are those who should hear at present and there are those that must wait to hear. And the better a man or woman is, the earlier his or her chance will come. This is the meaning of the profound saying, « To him who hath, more will be given. » And it has been well said that « strong doctrines attract strong men and make them stronger ».

Secondly, he must see if the persons, whom he has chosen for his work, bear the taint of voluntary association with the government in any degree whatever. Are they title-holders or munidipal commissioners? Are they pleaders or barristers or government officials? Do they hold government scholarships or occupy seats on the provincial or legislative councils? Are they connected with government or missionary schools or colleges, or with institutions affiliated to the British universities, as students or teachers? Do the follow a profession which enables them to make money by voluntarily assisting the administration? Are they suppliers of meat and milk to the British army or contractors for the erection of government offices! Are the pensioners of the government? Are they soldiers in the British army or sailors serving on board the British government's ships? And if the persons whom our propagandist wishes to convert are in any way tainted with the poison of voluntary association with the government, his *first* effort should be to persuade them to purify themselves by getting rid of it. No person who voluntarily associates with government for *worldly profit* should ever be admitted as a comrade or a patriotic member of the revolutionary party. This should be an inviolable rule. For, abstinence from voluntary association with the enemy is clearly the *minimum* of sacrifice that can be demanded of any Indian. Positive self-denial will come later on; but surely, a person who cannot be even neutral can never be considered patriotic in any sense of the word. There are three classes of Indians: Those who help the British those who do nothing but suffer involuntarily and those who work against the tyrants and undergo sacrifices voluntarily. Now it is self-evident that no man of any nationality, Indian or other, should belong to the first category. The abandonment of that region of servitude and baseness is *the first step* that a patriot or even an honest man should take. It is idle to pretend that a person who cannot cease from helping the British voluntarily is fit for higher tasks. Such an idea implies an absurd fallacy. Just as the Christians demanded that every convert should at least renounce the worship of the heathen deities of Greece and Rome, so it is necessary that no man should enter the temple of Nationalism with the money of the government in his pocket. Voluntary association with the enemy puts a person outside the pale of revolutionary activity altogether. Let this sin be washed away first and further progress will follow. If a person is too weak to leave this life of slavery and dishonesty, he cannot advance further. The heights of revolutionary work cannot be gained by those who are unable to ascend the first few steps.

[To be continued].

POSTCRIPT

We give the latest news from India about Desh. Savarkar's case, which has been published in the «Madras Mail» and other papers:—

Mr. Joseph Baptista, Barrister-at-Law, Bombay, received a cablegram from Mrs. Cama, in Paris, stating: — « Savarkar arriving Bombay steamer *Morea*. Inform him French Government demand his return. See Savarkar professionnally and choose your Solicitors. Letter follows. » Mr. Baptista handed the cablegram to a firm of solicitors in Bombay, and requested them to write to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, to grant him an interview with Savarkar. The commissioner replied that the could do nothing as the Bombay Police had nothing to do with Savarkar. Mr. Baptista then applied to the Secretary to Government, Political Department, asking for permission to interview Savarkar. No reply has been received as yet. Mr. Baptista also wrote to the French Consul, who replied that he had received no instructions from bis Government.

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THE

BANDE MATARAM

A Monthly Organ of Indian Independence

« Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves
Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence. »
(*Gautama Buddha*).

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OURSELVES

An Explanation and an Appeal

With the present number, this journal enters on the second year of its existence. The twelve-month, which has passed since its establishment, has been an eventful period both at home and abroad. The bureaucracy has availed itself of its last weapons, ant they have broken in its hands. The country has definitely entered on a new era.

We invite all comrades to offer suggestions and criticism for the improvement of this journal. We have profited by such criticism in the past. And we shall thank all who assist us in this way with their advice and sympathy.

If there are certain features of this journal which do not recommend themselves to some of our compatriots, we should ask them to bear in mind that we have followed certain definite aims in our work. We have regarded *the moral and intellectual elevation* of our people as a prelude to the Revolution as our chief object, for we know that freedom cannot be secured without it. We have never pandered to the prejudices of unthinking men or humoured our readers in order to win popularity. We have tried to address thoughtful and right-minded workers who value principle more than passion and who recognise that every nation is responsible for its own destiny. We have asked our people to raise themselves above the petty quarrels and problems of the moment and to fix their eyes on the great and universal principles that guide the march of events in the world. We have refrained from any appeals to the baser motives, and lower feelings of human nature. We have made ethics the foundation of our political programme and have brought to its aid all that is best and highest in human character.

Hence we have criticised the barbarous and rapacious government of India bitterly and unsparingly. But we have not been indulgent to our own people. We have probed the sores of our own society and revealed the gaping wounds to the eyes of our self-complacent comrades. We have tried to drive home the lesson that we are the authors of our own misfortunes and that foreign rule is only the external sign and symbol, the necessary concomitant of our own moral and mental degradation. We have endeavoured to instruct, not to amuse, readers. We have talked more of our own failings than of those of our enemies; for self-knowledge and self-examination form the starting point of all progress.

With reference to this view of our work, we may mention a peculiar feature of this journal, which cannot have escaped the attention of our readers. We do not demand any fixed subscription. We depend on voluntary contributions. Many comrades are surprised at this rule. They think that it is due to eccentricity or caprice. They believe that it is an unnecessary and useless restriction that we have imposed on ourselves. But we inform our readers that this apparent anomaly is based on Principle. With Hamlet, we may say that there is method in our madness. We do not carry on our work in a commercial spirit. We look upon this journal as a harbinger of Freedom and Virtue. We cannot therefore sell it for a price. No person wishes to make any profit out of the undertaking. We regard it as a written exhortation, as a sermon in print. Can we then put a price on it ? The nation is dying for want of the life-giving truths that we preach. Shall we make the payment of a certain sum of money an essential condition of admission to our temple ? No, we shall rather expel all money-changers from the temple of Truth ! As the widow offers her mite and the millionaire gives his millions for the support of a church, a mosque, or a temple, even so each reader should help us in this task in a spirit of earnest self-denial.

The peculiar view that we take of our duty has led us to impose this rule on ourselves. But our readers should respond to our appeal in the same spirit. Up till now, the keen patriotism of two or three comrades has enabled them to undergo the pecuniary sacrifices that are required for the publication of the journal. But it is time that other compatriots should hasten to share in the noble work. We can increase our circulation and add to the usefulness of the journal if we receive contributions from all our readers.

Let the rich man give much, let the poor man give a little, let the beggar give nothing but his heart ! Wherever you are, all ye who read this journal, hasten to offer your gift of love at the shrine of the Cause. And there is another form of voluntary subscription that we demand even more earnestly than pecuniary contributions. And that is moral earnestness in listening to our words. Let not our voice be that of one crying in the wilderness. Let not our cries and lamentations fall on deaf ears. Dear Readers, we want to reach your hearts, not your purses. If even one heart has been touched by our teaching, even if one comrade has been helped in his moral progress by our writing, even if one brother or sister has been led to reflect on the vanity of selfish worldliness and the beauty of a well-developed, noble life, then our object has been amply realised. We therefore earnestly hope that all who sympathise with our work will favour us with their suggestions, will help us with their money, and will above all try to act on our teaching so that the misery and degradation of 300 million of our countrymen may be put an end to and the reign of peace, plenty, and perfect humanity may be established in the fair land of Hindusthan !

THE "TIMES" AND INDIAN NATIONALISM

The " Times " of London has recently produced a series of articles on " Indian Unrest " which deserve careful perusal even on the part of nationalists. For it is our duty to keep ourselves informed of what is going on in the enemy's camp, and we can sometimes learn much from an opponent's statement of the case.

The chief object of these articles seems to be the justification of the repressive policy of the government of India and the misrepresentation of the aims and scope of the Indian Revolutionary Party

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before the bar of public opinion in the civilised world. An attempt has been made by our enemies to alienate public sympathy in Europe and America from our movement so that the future progress of our work may be to some extent hindered. We are not so foolish as not to be able to recognise the real object of these elaborate dissertations. At the same time, a few articles have appeared in the French press which have maintained the propositions advanced by the " Times " correspondent. This move has been made as a counterblast to our recent agitation in the continental press in connection with the case of Comrade Savarkar.

We are not concerned with many aspects of the " unrest " which the " Times " correspondent has felt bound to dwell upon. We pick out some salient points from these articles to comment upon.

We are very glad indeed to discover that we are in agreement with our learned and critical adversary on many points. It is so gratifying to find ourselves in accord with our fellow beings at times in this world of strife and discord. We believe with our critic that the " unrest " in India might develop into one of those mighty forces that have changed the course of history. We admit that the strain of idealism that runs like a golden thread in the Revolutionary propaganda constitutes the greatest danger for the British Empire in India. We also warn the government that the spread of " sedition " among the upper classes of Hindu society who lead public opinion is an ominous symptom for English rule in India. We hope that the correspondent's fear with regard to the approaching extinction of the Indian National Congress may be realised to the letter. We have no word to offer in defence of any moderate politician like Gokhale, Malaviya, or Pal and we are not directly concerned with the strictures on the Arya Samaj. The diagnosis of many of the causes of the " unrest " is perfectly correct.

But then the critic enters on dangerous ground. In analysing the ideal and describing the motive forces of the revolutionary movement, he has blinded himself to facts and has perverted his own judgment in order to mislead the public opinion of the world. His articles are only the repetition of the old trick of crying " Fanaticism ! " when any trouble threatens European domination in the Islamic world. It is the same old story of the " mad Mullah " though we don't understand why a Mullah trying to expel the invaders of the country should have been any more insane than Mazzini or Washington. It seems that in the opinion of the English Imperialists, the quality of " madness " and " fanaticism " must be found in all oriental patriots who try to frustrate their wicked designs against the honour and liberty of weaker nations. The gist of the articles in the " Times " is found in the formula which explains all wars and tumults against Europeans in Morocco, Egypt, the Soudan, and Afgahnisthan. " Fanaticism " is the real disease and of course " fanaticism " is the real enemy of European civilisation. It is the common foe of all civilised world. It deserves no sympathy on the part of enlightened nations. Q. E. D.

We cordially agree with the writer that our movement is no imitation of western democratic movements. The " Times " correspondent brings forward this charge in order to depreciate it. But we take it as a compliment. The moderates who plume themselves on being the disciples of Lord Morley and Burke may claim to be admitted as humble followers of modern democratic ideals. But we are proud to say that our movement is in no way modelled on the lines of European democracy and that it does not derive its inspiration from it. For, while European democracy has many things in common with our ideal, it has also stood for ideas and tendencies with which we have no sympathy. We are happy that our movement has nothing to do with any appeals to the base motives of cupidity and class hatred, with besotten drunkenness, with ostentatious irreligion, with the tribal jealousies and hatreds and the oppressive colonial policy that characterise European democracy. It is in no way connected with the democracies that plunder India and Egypt or lynch their fellow-citizens. It does not follow in the footsteps of democracies that put a premium on bribery and corruption and are actuated by the most intense feelings of race antipathy. This ideal of democracy may be cherished and appreciated by some Indians but we congratulate ourselves on our inability to perceive all its merits. We have no desire to be ranked in the same class with the supporters of European democratic ideals. We would feel ourselves lowered if such a place were offered us in the hierarchy of the world's idealists.

Further, the vitality of the movement is assured by the fact that it is not a base imitation of any outlandish movement. It has sprung from the deepest beliefs and aspirations of the nation, as the flower from the stalk. It is racy of the soil and possesses a perennial element of life and strength within itself. It aims at *victory from within*, while a servile reproduction of western democracy will only bring the " mighty death from without ", of which Okakura the Japanese thinker has warned us. It is the product of the genius of the Indian people. It is entirely Swadeshi in its spirit and aim, and the elements which it may have unwisely borrowed from the lower features of modern democracy will prove disastrous to it. It is as much the product of Indian intellect and Indian spiritual ideas as the Upanishads and the Tripatika, the Granth and the Ramayana, the Taj and the Caves of Ellora, and the festivals of Rama and Krishna. It is not a movement which passes away after effecting certain political reforms and readjustments of the balance of power. It is an institution which has come to stay and which must influence the minds and character of the Indian people for generations. Having thus disclaimed all desire for the imitation of western democratic ideals, we proceed to expose the hollowness of the charge that it is a movement started by bigoted Brahmans in order to regain their social supremacy by expelling the Britons and to defend the regime of the caste, idolatry, superstition, priestcraft, witchcraft and similar other institutions which are despised and detested by civilised Europeans. We may remark in passing that an Englishmam who recognises a landed aristocracy, who looks upon all his Indian and Egyptian and Zulu victims as Pariahs and who exterminates inferior races in the Pacific has no right to sneer at the Brahmans or even at Herod or Beelzebub.

For meekness and humility are not his distinctive features. All the peculiar features of Brahminism on which the writer animadverts are found in all European countries. Aristocracy by birth, idol-worship, social exclusiveness, monopoly of power by certain classes are to be met with on the banks of the Thames and the Rhine as well as the Ganges and the Nile. It is therefore idle for our friend to play the part of Pecksniff. Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones. We point out this aspect of the question in order to demonstrate the insincerity and hypocrisy of our critics. The House of Lords must be in a perilous plight when even the " Times " of London turns against social privilege, and Home-rule for Ireland must be in sight when the condition of the " depressed " classes in India rouses its indignation. The meanness of English Imperial politics is disgusting in the extreme. These people trade on virtue and on vice. They trade on truth and falsehood. They trade on the Bible and Jesus Christ. God, heaven, earth, democracy, justice, Christianty, everything is to be used only for the material aggrandisement of the English nation ! And our critic actually proposes that the government should help in the conversion of the " depressed " classes to Christianity in order to consolidate the Empire ! What a profitable investment for the pious cotton manufacturers of Lancashire who should support Christian missions more liberally than ever !

We are no apologists for Brahminism, Mormonism, or any other " ism " in the world. We have as little to do with the caste system as with the deceaseded wife's sister's question on the present occasion. And we concern ourselves as little with idolatry as with mariolatry in our work for the liberation of India. But we wish to rebut the malicious charge that our movement is the outcome of the machinations of bigoted priests and their followers who wish to drive out the English in order to destroy those supposed elements of " civilisation which the British government is trying to introduce into India as the representative of justice and enlightenment.

Our movement is represented by all classes of people-Brahmins, Kshtriys, Vaishyas, Sudras, as well as those who do not recognise the social supremacy of thr Brahmins namely the Jains, the Parsis, the Brahmos, the Aryas and the Mahummadans. It is evident that all the nationalists have no religious belief and no theory of social reconstruction in common; a wide gulf of religious and social ideas separates Mr. Lajpatrai from Deshbhakta Tilak, and both from Mr. Pal. If Brahminism, as depicted by our critic, is the mainspring of our movement how is it that he reckons Arya Samaj among the most dangerous organisations in the country, as that body is constantly at war with Brahmanism ? The contention that Brahminism is at the root of the propaganda thus falls to the ground even on a cursory examination of facts, which are clear to everyone except a " Times " *special* correspondent even after he has spent several months in the country.

Hence we must find the common basis and ideal of nationalism in the elements which are common to such widely divergent social and religious theories as are represented by the Jains, the Aryas, the Brahmos, and the Brahmans. For no one sacrifices his religious opinions in joining the nationalist movement. The fundamental idea which inspires our activity and which is deep-rooted in the mind of every illiterate peasant who has never heard of Europe or its democracy has been felicitously rendered by Meredith Townsend in the following words : —

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" He (the Asiatic) very often for example submits to invasion when a European would resist, but he never submits willingly, still less permanently. He never adopts the invader, never forgets that his own country is separate, and never ceases to hope that in God's good time the invader will be compelled to depart, or if such extreme fortune may be, will be slaughtered out. "

And the same writer puts the sentiment in still more appropriate terms in another chapter of the book " Asia and Europe." : —

" It is alleged that the Hindus have no patriotism and many Europeans will assert that no such idea as that of *the country* has ever entered their minds. We utterly disbelieve it.... believe, on the contrary, that Hindus have a patriotism of a sensitive kind, *a profound belief that India is, and ought to be, and ultimately will be for them*, that invasion is unjust and the invader ought to depart. " (The italics are ours.)

It is a pity that our critic of the " Times " could not see what Townsend could discern so plainly. The national movement is simply the expression of this " profound belief " in all departments of social life and activity — in ethics, in literature, in commerce, in dress, in religion, and finally in politics. It is patriotism applied all round to the daily life of the nation, which was being destroyed and emasculated by the inroads of destructive European forces. The Indian people suddenly find themselves losing their individuality, their genius and social ideals, their wealth and honour. And like a man in wrath, they stand up and say to the meddlesome greedy foreigner : " Leave us alone to live and grow. We do not want your presence here for good or evil. We are becoming conscious of our own individuality and are determined to realise it in tangible institutions. "

This is the inner spirit of Indian Nationalism and this is why it is irreconcilably opposed to British domination in any form whatever. For there can be no compromise between life and death.

CARLYLE ON NATIONAL REGENERATION

The sage of Chelsea tried to impress on the Englishmen of his day the great truth that national decadence was the result of national sins. We quote the forcible words in which he expressed his ideas. His ways of thought may be different from ours, but the substance of the message is the same.

" When an individual is miserable, what does it most of all behove him to do ? To complain of this man or that ? Of this thing or of that ? To fill the world and the street with lamentation, objurgation ? Not so at all; the reverse of so. All moralists advice him not to complain of any person or of anything, but of himself only. He is to know of a truth, that being miserable he has been unwise, he. Had he faithfully followed Nature and her Laws, Nature ever true to her laws, would have yielded fruit and increase and felicity to him. But he has followed other than Nature's laws; and now Nature, her patience with him being ended, leaves him desolate; answers with very emphatic significance to him — No ! Not by this road, my son, by another road shalt thou attain well-being. Quit this ! So do all moralists advise : That the man penitently say to himself first of all, " Behold ! I was not wise enough; I quitted the Laws of fact which are also called the Laws of God and mistook for them the Laws of Sham and Semblance which are called the Devil's Laws. Therefore am I here ! " Neither with nations that have become miserable is it fundamentally otherwise. The ancient guides of nations, Prophets, priests, or whatever their name-were well aware of this; and down to a late epoch impressively taught and inculcated it. The modern guides of nations who also go under a great variety of names — Journalists, Political Economists, Politicians, Pamphleteers, — have entirely forgotten this and are ready to deny this. But nevertheless it remains eternally undeniable; nor is there any doubt but we shall be taught it yet and made again to confess it; and at last shall either get to know it or be striped to death in the process. For it is undeniable ! The old prophet was right and not wrong in saying it, " Ye have forgotten God, ye have quitted the ways of God, or ye would not have been unhappy. It is not according to the laws of Fact that ye have lived and guided yourselves but according to the laws of Delusion, Imposture, and willful and unwilful Mistake of Fact. Behold therefore the Unveracity is worn out : Nature's long suffering is exhausted and ye are here ! "

AS OTHERS SEE US

The Indian National Movement is everyday claiming more and more attention at the hands of the representatives of public opinion all over the world. Free nations begin to believe that we are in earnest. The Revolutionary party is now reckoned among the living movements of the time and we have great pleasure in reproducing the comments published by various European journals with regard to the party and its work. Comrades should be encouraged by a perusal of these remarks and we can be sure that, when the time of trial comes, the public opinion of civilised humanity which is a great force in the direction of affairs will support us and thus make our task easier and lighter than it would otherwise be. The Revolutionary movement has now emerged from the confines of India and has become universal in its scope and range of activities. All the world watches us with keen eyes. So let us act worthily and acquit ourselves like men.

" La Revue du Monde Musulman ", a monthly magazine published in Paris, says in a recent number :

" When one reads the ardent dissertations, the fiery proclamations, the violent appeals of the Hindu patriots, one discovers a state of mind which is altogether remarkable and singular. I cannot find a better comparison for it than the mentality of the Russian Revolutionaries. There is the same mystical exaltation, the same fierce radicalism, the same irreconcilable extremism, and the same recklessness with regard to the immediate future. But one cannot rely on mere negations or on speculative theories. And I am, therefore, one of those who do not hope too much from the actual movement as it at present exists. But the idea spreads. The seed is sown in the minds; the coming generations should make it bear rich fruit-and they will be able to do it. 300 millions of people form so large a part of the human race that they cannot be denied the right to an independant and autonomous life. Federated India will assuredly be one day one of the greatest states of the world and one of the most active factors in the furtherance of knowledge, progress, and civilisation. " — Julien Vinson.

Le Siecle, a Paris daily newspaper, offers the following instructive comments, which we reproduce without any alteration. It is needless to add that we do not endorse all the views of our esteemed contemporary.

" The incident in which Mr. Savarkar figures has had other results, which it will be difficult to efface. It has drawn the attention of the French public to what is happening and what is going to happen in India. Mr. Savarkar, as a patriot, looked forward in the distant future to a war between England and her Indian subjects. He mentions, in his history of the war of 1857, that the rural population of India is not yet capable of coping with the British soldiery, and that a great moral revolution must take place before resistance can be thought of.

" In Europe we do not look at the question from the same point of view. We do not ask ourselves if the Hindus will be able to beat England; but we wish to inquire if, in 4 or 5 years, when the naval superiority of England over Germany will have become less marked, India would not require all the expeditionary force organised by Mr. Haldane, so that the defence of England would be rendered difficult and it would be simply impossible for the British army to interfere in the continental affairs. The Hindus themselves are quite conscious of the important position that they occupy. The *Bandé Mataram* a national organ published at Geneva wrote in September 1909, " India has during the last three years definitely entered world politics as a by no means inconsiderable factor ".

" In England the gravity of the situation is fully understood. But we doubt, if, even in the best informed and the most influential circles, the real bearings of the problem are grasped. For instance, the " Times " has been publishing for a week several articles on this subject which are remarkable for their form and the abundance of illustrative quotations. But the spirit of these articles is strikingly unfair. The author points out the great differance that exists between the caste system and the liberal ideas professed by the majority of the Brahmins. He exhibits the revival of patriotic and religious feelings with all the

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excesses that could result from it in a vast population, the larger part of which is illiterate. And the conclusion which is drawn from these essays is this : India suffers from an outbreak of fanaticism for which repressive measures are necessary.

" This is simplifying the question a great deal. Certainly, all the ideas that guide the Hindu movement and all the methods that it adopts cannot be favoured by us. There are among these ideas and methods several which offend our Western susceptibilities — not to speak of the outrages which are to be condemned in every country of the world. But perhaps, we should not judge the whole world by our standard, which will never be adopted by the whole human race, and which never remain the same during two successive generations. There are people who wish to chastise India under the pretext that she adheres to the worship of primitive heroes and cruel deities. But what then should be done to Europe, the centre of civilisation and knowledge, which has nevertheless denied the principle of nationality, ruins itself by armaments, and trusts in brute force.

" Happy indeed are those who are sufficiently certain of themselves to be able to assert that nothing good can come out of these apparent stirrings. We are more modest. We content ourselves with thinking that a propaganda which exalts self-sacrifice and patriotism cannot be altogether evil. And whoever has read the extracts from Mr. Savarkar's letters and poems published by the *Action* this morning will share our opinion.

" For the preservation of English rule in India, then, we must look to other things than pitiless repression. The politics of the " big stick " are good only for a nation without an ideal. For, a tyranny can last only so long as it claims only victims. But it stands self-condemned when it begins to make martyrs. " — Jean Herbette.

HINTS ON PRACTICAL PROPAGANDA (Concluded)

We must insist on such a simple truth, because we Indians often blind ourselves to it. We wish to serve several masters at once. We mix up principles and think we are very clever. We are unconscious of the sanctity of Principle. It is a weakness which is deep-rooted in our national character. The Revolutionary movement must eradicate it or it will fail.

But some people might object. " This truth will make all work very slow. There are thousands of students in government colleges. Must they all give up their colleges and become tradesmen and artisans before they can be representatives of the Revolution ? And so many educated persons are associated with the government in one way or another ! " But we should never forget, as John Stuart Mill wrote, " One man with a conviction is worth 99 without one. " And what is the use of gathering a mob of noisy " patriots " if they are not ready even to make what has been proved to be the minimum possible amount of moral effort for every Indian ? It is not our object to collect a motley crowd to sing Bande Mataram but to build up a strong self-consistent party which should spread among all classes by its moral momentum. If a person is not prepared to give up enriching himself by his association with the government, he has no part or lot with us. Let us raise him morally till he reaches this lowest stage of patriotism.

Thirdly, having secured persons who are not contaminated with voluntary association with the government in any form, the propagandist should instruct them in the general principles of politics and economics and then turn their attention to the actual condition of our country at present. He should give them books to read. It is a pity there is a lack of good books on Indian politics written from the Revolutionary point of view. But whatever material exists should be made use of. Fourthly, if the would-be convert exhibits glaring defects of character which puts him below the average run of mankind in morality and common honesty, the propagandist should try to eradicate these faults before teaching the strictly political part of his work. For, a man may hate the British like poison and may subscribe to all our doctrines, and yet be quite unfit for serious co-operation on account of lamentable moral shortcomings. For instance, a confirmed drunkard, a shameless liar, a habitually insincere man, a notorious rake, an extremely irritable person, an inordinately vain or avaricious or impolite man, or an incorrigible braggart cannot be worthy members of the Fraternity for the simple reason that co-operation with them is impossible for the ordinary men and women of this world. Hence defects of this kind must be removed as assiduously as possible. *Co-operation depends more on character than on community of opinion.* Revolutionary nationalism gains nothing and loses much by associating with persons who exhibit such moral flaws *in a marked degree.* Ethical propaganda thus forms an inseparable part of the political work even in its lowest stages. As to the higher stages of work, they cannot be reached without ethical culture of a very intensive type.

Fifthly, all propagandits should try to improve themselves as much as possible in knowledge and character day by day. Water cannot rise above its level, and the converts cannot be better than the preacher. Hence a great responsibility rests on all those who undertake to represent the Revolution before the outside world and who are like beacons on a hilltop. Constant self-examination and self-culture are necessary for real success. Let us remember that India is fallen very low. The moral fibre of the nation is extremely feeble. Generations of servitude have left the people selfish, mean, and avaricious to an inconceivable degree. The ideas of personal responsibility for the public welfare, of social good, of national honour, of stern regard for principles, of self-sacrifice for public ends, of the certainty of the triumph of good over evil-all these ideas which are the signs of a living society are almost entirely absent from the minds of the people. We really do not know how much we have to rise before freedom can be secured. We are unconscious of our real plight.

Hence, my Friends and Comrades, it is essential that every propagandist should keep watch over himself. should strive to gain more and more moral power every day, should ask himself what he is lacking in, should grow in grace and favour by earnest self-culture so that he may say before the altar of the Mother, in all true humility of spirit : " Accept, O Mother, this ahuti, this sacrifice which is worthy of Thee. It is not tainted whit sin or ignorance. It is like unto an unspotted lamb or a vessel of purest incense. What more can I offer Thee, Mother ! I offer myself, cleansed, purified, and ever struggling upwards ! " And then, the Mother will accept and rejoice !

DESHBANDHU SAVARKAR

Our readers will be glad to learn that the representations of the French government on the subject of Deshbandhu Savarkar's release have taken effect, as the British authorities in India have postponed the trial till the question of international law involved in the case has been settled. We are confirmed in our hope that our comrade will soon be released.

The following resolution has been passed at the International Socialist Congress, held at Copenhagen, advocating the inviolability of the right of asylum for political refugees, and prominently mentioning Desh. Savarkar's case.

THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM

Recently in various countries many instances have occured where, under various fallacious pretexts, the right of asylum for political refugees has been violated. The Russian Government particularly distinguishes itself in this field in a most deplorable manner. Thus Jules Wezosol has been recently arrested in Boston upon the demand of Russia for his extradition.

Even England, contrary to all her traditions, consents to employ this process, violating the right of asylum, as in the case of the revolutionary Hindoo, Savarkar, who in an unprecedented manner has been arrested on French soil and extradited without any legal formality.

The Congress vigorously protests against these criminal violations of the right of asylum, and urges the proletariat of all countries to resist by all the means of propaganda and agitation it possesses these assualts upon the dignity and independence of their own countries, which menace the liberty of action of the working class and its international solidarity.

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THE BANDE MATARAM

A Monthly Organ of Indian Independence

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence."

(Gautama Buddha).

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The Egyptian National Congress.

We congratulate our Egyptian friends on the success of their National Congress as far as it went. Of course, we hold that it did not go far enough.

The Congress, which was held at Brussels on September 22—28 after its prohibition in Paris by the French Government, was better organised than that of last year, which was held under the auspices of La Jeunesse Egyptienne. The assembly wore a picturesque appearance, and all the social functions were attended with success.

Our Egyptian comrades invited ten Indian sympathisers and supporters. All the guests thoroughly appreciated the generous hospitality of the Congress.

The Congress was a representative gathering and included many notable persons, whose names we had heard before. There were M. Farid Bey, the amiable and popular leader of the National party, M. Loutfy Bey, the advocate, who defended Wardani, M. Moharram Ali Bey, the earnest patriot who resides in Berlin, M. Mansour Rifaat, the silent painstaking treasurer, M. Hamed el Alaily, the "handsome", energetic Secretary and M. L. Goumah, the principal figure at the Congress, whose eloquence, earnestness and ability charmed the audience. And there were other patriotic workers, whose names need not be given here, but who contributed to the success of the Congress in their own way. English, French and German members of Parliament also added to the solemnity and importance of the proceedings by their presence.

As regards the proceedings of the Congress and its value as an educational force for Egypt, we must offer our criticism frankly. To those who love much, much should also be forgiven.

We have nothing but praise for the industry and conscientiousness with which the papers were written. The speakers knew their subjects thoroughly.

We learned much from the discourses about the evils of the British régime in Egypt. The papers included a wide range of topics, from hygiene to industries and the burden of all the speeches was the great and sound warning that Egypt could never enjoy happiness of any kind till the English left it. We appreciated the skill and judgement which the organisers of the Congress had exercised in the choice of the subjects. No better introduction to Egyptian politics could be desired.

The destructive part of the work of the Congress was done with admirable precision and earnestness. There were no apologies for British rule, no qualified statements in talking of its evils. It was condemned as an entirely unmitigated curse, which must be got rid of. The assembly was unanimous on this point. It could not recognise any redeeming features in the British Occupation, and no speaker uttered any demoralising sentiment about its necessity or its ultimate salutary effects or its inevitableness or any other quality which may be discovered in it by selfseeking or cowardly politicians. In this respect, this assembly compares very favourably with many other similar bodies that we know of.

Further, we were very glad to note that the ideal of the Congress was a very sound one. It always insisted on the complete independence of Egypt and the disappearance of every British soldier from Egyptian territory. There was no wavering on this point too. No one had any idea of modifying their demand in this connection in order to please the powers that be. We were struck with the capacity for clear vision and judgement displayed by the leaders in this respect, for such assemblies are rather apt to degenerate into tame gatherings on account of the faults of the leaders.

We therefore heartily appreciate the work of the Congress on its destructive side. But there is much to be achieved on the constructive side too. And here the assembly was lamentably deficient Very few had any idea of the lines on which such a Congress should be conducted. The whole organisation seemed to be at the mercy of chance suggestions and random impulses. The guiding mind and will were wanting. We were reminded of H. G. Wells's remark on American Universities: "How is it that this place does not seem to think." No leader appeared to have the power of laying down general principles for future work or of forecasting the results of certain methods which may seem to be harmless at present. In a word, efficient leadership was lacking and all that it implies was wanting-prevision, consistensy, determination, inspiration.

We shall point out the errors that were committed at the Congress in dealing with the constructive programme. First, the idea of appealing to European public opinion should be abandoned. It serves no useful purpose. There is no European power that can drive England out of Egypt, as was demonstrated in the paper read by M. Alaily at last year's congress.

The organisers of the Congress think that they have secured a victory if they can persuade some stray M. P. or deputé to speak a few words in favour of Egypt. They waste their time and money and energy in soliciting the support of prominent public men in Germany, Italy and Austria to adorn the list of "adhesions", when they should be securing the mass of the Fellaheen for their cause. No European nation can have any sympathy with Egypt. If France desires Egypt to be free why does she keep Algeria in bondage? If the Germans are anxious to see Egypt independent why do they persecute the Poles? All European nations have common interest in the East, and they must try to check the revival of the Orient. Hence the cant of appealing to the European powers and exchanging hollow messages of fraternal goodwill with them must be given up. It misleads and misdirects the energies of the young workers. It gives a false note to the proceedings of the Congress. It gives European visitors the position of social pre-eminence at an Egyptian Congress.

It is hardly worthwhile holding a congress of Egyptian Nationalists,

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if the great gods even there are to be whites. We are sick of this mania for worshipping European physiognomy which afflicts all debased oriental races. It is the sign and seal of national demoralisation.

Further such talk prevents the assembly from striking the true note of selfhelp and self reliance in its discourses. Every thing is sacrificed to the supposed advisability of not offending what is called "European public opinion" as if Europe attached much importance to an assembly of this kind, which shows no moral power and no real force at its back. Europe knows its exact worth, and does not care for it. Hence the Egyptians should give up the demoralising and impolitic cant of enlightening European public opinion. So long as this attitude is maintained, the Europeans will never listen to them, for they will believe that Egypt is not in earnest. Make the movement internally strong, and the leaders of the European public opinion will themselves beg for information about it.

Secondly the false pretence of constitutionalism and pacific work must be abandoned. In this respect, the proceedings of the Congress sometimes took an almost comic turn, for the tragic aspect of the question was hidden from all but the most thoughtful spectators. Thus a telegram of sympathy was received from Egypt, which called upon "the peaceful soldiers" (soldats pacifiquis) of nationalism to achieve success in their work. Perhaps the Egyptian leaders do not possess the saving gift of humour. Again, Mr. L. Goumah, in the fine peroration of his eloquent speech on the neutralisation of Egypt, burst into an anathema against the British Empire: "Oh vile Empire! here are lions that will guard the freedom of their country." True, but must they be lions without teeth and claws? Such threats fall rather flat, as they are always accompanied with loud professions of constitutionalism. The Egyptian leaders think that they are behaving like clever and artful politicians in keeping up this melodrama, but wise observers know that they act like act children and injure the cause they wish to serve.

The whole movement is vitiated by one fatal flaw. The leaders wish to flatter the prejudices of European journalists. They want to say what their "foreign supporters" would like to hear. They do not speak from the heart. They repeat the sentiments which are dictated to them by their European friends.

The evil is all the more deplorable, in as much as not one among these patriots believes in constitutionalism. They all know that war will come, and must come. But they will not publicy declare their thoughts, lest their European "friends" should be offended. This heartrending spectacle of the ruin of the morale of a whole generation of Egyptian youths has been witnessed by us. And the cause is the blindness and cowardice of the leaders. Must Egyptian young men sacrifice their souls for the smiles of a few European députés? Must they sell their conscience for a few favourable articles in French and German and Italian papers? We wish to tell our Egyptian comrades that their supposed wisdom is really folly of the worst type. For lies, like birds, come home to roost. It is a universal rule of moral progess that no principle, which is not publicly professed by some one can move men to sacrifice. Men may whisper it among themselves, they may discuss it in secret assemblles, but it has no value as a moral idea, no power as a motive force, no effect on human society. until it is proclaimed in the market place and the public square by some great soul ready to bear witness to it. There were monotheists before Muhamad, protestants before Luther and Italian insurrectionists before Mazzini. But they had no moral influence over the hearts and minds of the people, because they did not bear open testimony to their faith. The despicable policy of the Egyptian leaders is killing the soul of the youths whom they should inspire with zeal and courage. For there is nothing more demoralising for a person than publicly assenting to a proposition which he condemns at heart. No proceeding is more calculated to blight his moral nature. The Egyptian leaders should study the history of great religious economic and political movements and should ponder on the truths of ethical psychology before they undertake to lead their nation on the path to freedom. At present the blind lead the blind and both will fall in the ditch.

And was it not humiliating for the Egyptian leaders to see that strangers were giving their young men the sound advice which they themselves afraid of? Was it not painful for Egyptian pride to see that only an Indian lady had the courage to call on this nation of "lions" to sacrifice their life blood for liberty? Was it very flattering to the self-esteem of the Egyptians that an Englishman should advise them to make their movement an essentially "revolutionary" one?

We advise our Egyptian comrades to eliminate all cant and falsehood from their Congress. Earnest men do not come to listen to lies and assist at the perpetration of social deceit. The Congress need not indulge in bravado or empty revolutionary talk. It is not even bound to lay its whole programme before the public. But whatever work is actually done should be sanctified with sincerity and truth and earnestness. Shame and makebelief will only rob this already degraded people of whatever little moral life they still possess. Complete moral bankruptcy will result in no time, if a Congress is held every year to drain away the moral capital of an already feeble social organism in this way. Do the Egyptian leaders understand our advice? We are not writing like dreamy unpractical enthusiasts. We declare that as a question of moral calculus the policy of the Egyptian leaders is injurious to their nation. They should concentrate and develop whatever remnants of truthfulness, courage sincerity, social honesty, public spirit and righteousness are still to be found among their decadent people. But they do exactly the reserve.

And besides, what sacrifices of principle are the Egyptian leaders prepared to make for the apparent good will of a few struggling European politicans? If these good friends of Egypt declare tomorrow that they will not support Egyptian nationalism unless the demand for complete independence is changed into one for selfgovernment under British control, will the Egyptian leaders lower their flag in order to preserve the long list of "adhesions" intact? We advise them to avoid all "friends" of Egypt who insist on these professions of constitutionalism as the price of their support. The true friends of Egypt should be ready to declare that Egypt should fight for her freedom. That is the test by which friends can be known from foes. Why should a sincere friend desire that the English soldiers in Egypt should not be driven out by force? We do not understand such friendship. Thirdly, the Congress should not organise magnificent fêtes and suppers for its guests. The generosity of the Congress is laudable, but the moral effecrt is not salutary. Persons should come to the Congress to be instructed and inspired, not to be amused and entertained. Sumptuous midnight suppers with champagne and voluptuous music and dances give an air of unreality to the proceedings of the Congress. And the abundance of wine gives it a denationalised appearance. Simple social functions, with light refreshments and inspiring songs like the agapes of early Christians are admissible at such Congresses. But frivolous luxury is quite out of place. We wish to see the heart of Egypt at the Congress. — its great widowed heart and not its wealth or elegance. Such fêtes will be appropriate when the Congress celebrates the achievement of Egyptian independence.

In conclusion, we assure our Egyptian comrades of sincere sympathy with their cause. If we have spoken frankly, it is because we love them, because we really wish to see Egypt free. Let all enemies of the British Empire join hands and hasten the advent of the day when every nation will be mistress in her own house!

DESHBHAKTA SAVARKAR.

During the four weeks that have elapsed since we last went to press, the case of comrade Savarkar has developed with considerable rapidity; and from the incidents we shall here chronicle for the information of our readers, they will easily gather to what lengths the British government is prepared to go in flouting the demands of a just and friendly power.

In the early part of September, it was reported that Deshbhakta Savarkar's trial would be postponed until the question of International Law raised by his admirable and plucky escape at Marseille had been settled. Nevertheless, in spite of repeated requests, Mr. Joseph Baptista was not allowed to see Deshbhakta Savarkar professionally and the latter was kept completely in the dark as

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to the French demand on his behalf. A few days later, however the Secretary of State for India cabled to the Government of India that the proceedings were to be begun and it was ordered that Deshbhakta Savarkar should be put on his trial along with 37 others who stand accused in the Nasik conspiracy case. And in order to mislead and deceive the French people and blind them as to the real significance of this insolent act, the London correspondent (?) of the demi-official, anglophile journal, *le Temps*, was made to assert that the Government of India was autonomous and that the British Government was powerless to prevent the proceedings against Deshbhakta Savarkar in the High Court of Bombay. This monstrous falsehood would have worked considerable mischief but for the prompt circular letter issued to the Press by Mme. Cama, in which she clearly and forcibly explained the truth as to the administration of our country and pointed out how deliberately the French nation was being misled. The letter was published *in extenso* by *l'Humanité* on the 23rd of Sept. and extracts appeared in several other journals. It runs as follows.

"I should like to draw your attention to the actual facts of the Savarkar case.

In the month of July M. Savarkar, an Indian patriot, escaped from the surveillance of the English policemen who were conducting him to India, while the steamer "Morea" was lying at anchor in Marseilles. But a French gendarme illegally arrested him and delivered him to his enemies. The French Government after an administrative enquiry held that the arrest was illegal, and demanded of the English Government the suspension of judicial proceedings against M. Savarkar, and his return to liberty in his capacity of political refugee.

The entire French press has supported the Government in this matter. The inviolability of the territorial rights of France has been insisted on by journals of all political parties. English journals of the Liberal party have admitted the justice of the French demands.

Two months have already elapsed since the commencement of diplomatic negotiations between London and Paris. During the last few days English and French journals have published reports both contradictory and incredible. It is said that the English Government has refused to hand back M. Savarkar to the French authorities and that he has been brought before the Courts at Bombay to take his trial. The Paris journals which were most insistent in demanding his liberation now maintain an intentional and disquieting silence. We are informed on the other hand that no definite reply has been received at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. But at the same time we are told that the commencement of M. Savarkar's trial is no insult to the dignity of France. It seems as if the French Government wishes to drop the matter so as not to displease its ally.

Recourse has been had to ludicrous and absurd arguments to justify the criminal nonchalance of the French Government at this moment. The English assure us that the Government of Britain has no formal connection with the judicial system of India and that it cannot return M. Savarkar to France until after the judgment when he will be handed over to the executive authorities of England! This reasoning is fatse and ridiculous. The Government of India is nothing more than a province of Britain, because India does not enjoy the rights of self-government accorded to the English colonies. The Secretary of State for India who is the chief of the Government of India is always a Minister of the Cabinet in London, formally responsible to the English parliament. The judges at Bombay are nominated by the King of England and discharge their functions under his authorisation. An Indian can make an appeal to the Privy Council of London against the decision of the High Courts in India, and an Indian is a member of the Council at the present moment. For all that concerns international politics India is merely a province of Britain, and all the diplomatic negotiations it has to enter into are carried on from London. The arguments of *Le Temps* are only a childish pretext for evading the difficulties of the question.

We are well aware that the international situation in which France finds itself is exceedingly delicate. But the French government ought not to yield to England in a matter which concerns not only the honour of France but the fundamental rights of man. The *entente cordiale* ought to facilitate the task instead of humbling her prestige in the eyes of the civilized world.

On behalf of the Indian Nationalist Party and of those Indians who reside in your free and hospitable country, I beg your kind support in our campaign against the bad faith and low knavery of the English government. I hope that French opinion will demand that the proceedings against M. Savarkar be at least postponed and the British government hasten to give a definite response to the just demands of the government and people ot France."

The next step in the development of the case was the strong appeal issued on Desh. Savarkar's behalf on the 20th. Sept. by M. F. de Pressensé, the well-known and influential President of the League of the Rights of Man. He urged the French Government to insist on the liberation of our comrade and refer the matter to the International Court of Arbitration at the Hague in the event of British refusal to comply with the demands of the French government.

While these events were occurring in France, the trial was begun at Bombay on the 15th and adjourned to the 26th of Sept. On the 14th, Mr. J. Baptista was permitted to see Desh. Savarkar. He obtained from him his own version of the famous escape and communicated the story to Mme. Cama in a letter which arrived here on the 1st of Oct. The trial was resumed on the 26th of Sept. and on being asked if he had any question to put, Desh. Savarkar rose and declared in an emphatic manner that he declined to take part in the proceedings as he was under the protection of France and refused to recognise the jurisdiction of the court to try him. This attitude of our comrade has created a very favourable impression in Europe.

But let us return to the story of his escape. Desh. Savarkar's own narrative differs in important particulars from the official story hitherto accepted and *l'Humanité* accordingly wrote a lengthy and powerful article on the 3rd. of Oct. in which prominence was given to the new facts revealed by Mr. Baptista's letter. Mr. Baptista writes:

> As soon as the Morea entered the French harbour, Savarkar claimed to be on French soil. He also claimed liberty to go on shore and do what he pleased. In other words, he contended that his detention was illegal and criminal amounting to false imprisonment. Two French officers came on board the Morea but S. was not able to converse with them. He eventually resolved to escape. He did so. He found he was chased by 2 British policemen and 3 officers of the s.s. Morea. He ran for about half-a-mile, but finding that his pursuers were gaining upon him he besought the assistance of a French gendarme. Savarkar requested him to take him to a magistrate. Meanwhile the pursuers came upon him. One caught him by the neck, another by the hand and forcibly took him to the vessel. He was there put in chains and kept in close confinement. The Morea remained in harbour after this event for over 24 hours. So that the British officers committed a crime on French territory for over 24 hours. There was no formal demand by the British officers from the French gendarme nor was there any formal delivery by the gendarme. Indeed as facts stand the British police really took him by force from the custody of the French gendarme which aggravates the crime of capture and false imprisonment on the French territory. Savarkar was not allowed to communicate with anybody after that. While in harbour both before and after the episode, he was not allowed to communicate with the officials of France. Since his arrival in Bombay he has been kept in close confinement. Even I was not allowed to communicate with him the international question connected with his landing on French soil. He knew of this international question only when the papers in the case were given to him after his committal, i.e. on or about the 12th or 13th of Sept. 1910. He is not allowed to make any representations to France on the subject. Under these circumstances, it is desirable that France should give him an opportunity of placing his case before them and this can be done if France would suggest to England the desirability of having his version before them.

On the 4th of Oct., M. Jaurès, the eminent French Socialist Leader who has championed Desh. Savarkar's cause with so much energy and ability wrote a leading article in his journal, *l'Humanité* of which the following is a translation:

> The very circumstances as narrated by Savarkar make the incident more serious. It appears that he was pursued and arrested on French territory by English police although he was a political prisoner. The French government cannot fail to ask for the fullest particulars on this point; but, even if any doubt were cast on some of the details in Savarkar's version, the essential fact remains. The French Government firmly believe that Savarkar was illegally arrested. So they have told me. How is it that Savarkar who ought to have been handed over to the French

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authorities several weeks ago, is at present undergoing trial in an Indian court? Curious semi-official notes were at first published to the effect that the Indian courts were autonomous and nothing knew of any pourparlers between France and England. This however is an untenable piece of sophistry and it does not seem now to be insisted upon. England is the mistress. English detectives accompanied Savarkar from England to India. English police arrested him on French territory when he succeeded in escaping from his ship in Marseilles harbour. The present contention seems to be (although we have failed to obtain any official and definite statement) that Savarkar is being detained as a witness and that he will be handed over to France after the trial. Strange witness indeed who is undergoing trial, who is kept in secrecy, who is about to be sentenced! All these explanations show how annoyed the two governments are. But why should they persist in a deplorable attitude? No one can desire more than we do that no incident should arise between France and England. The present moment is not the time to add an element of trouble, whatever it may be, to the general uneasines felt in Europe. The entente cordiale is more necessary than ever. But it should be based on the dignity of both nations and respect for international law. England and France will lose a part of their authority if the one gives the example of arbitrary and illegal conduct and the other of weakness and giving way to unjust demands. In our brutal Europe where harsh elements of conflict are accumulating, a little idealism would not be a weakness or a danger between two great and free nations. I am greatly pained at being obliged to bring the matter before parliament. But it is a positive duty which it would be criminal for me to neglect and therefore I shall ask to be allowed to interpellate the Foreign Minister on the subject when Parliament reopens.

But unfortunately, Mr. Jaurès will not now be able to bring the matter before the French Chambre for just as we go to press we learn that Desh. Savarkar's case is to be referred to the Hague. Tribunal. We cannot pretend to be satisfied with this course. But we believe that victory is entirely on our side so far as International Law is concerned and that England took the initiative in suggesting arbitration because her prestige would not suffer so much by obeying the decision of the Hague as by surrendering Desh. Sarvarkar voluntarily.

We have now little to do but to wait till January next when the Court of Arbitration will sit and we shall look forward with hope and joy to seeing our comrade shortly against in our midst.

Long Live the Republic of Portugal!

It is refreshing, it is invigorating to see such love of liberty among the Latin races. Portugal is free and Spain may follow suit in a short time. The Portuguese have achieved so much that they not only deserve the applause of the whole world but should be held up as an example ot perseverance and courage to all oppressed nations. If 4,000,000 people could overthrow monarchy and tyranny in the twinkling of an eye, what could not the Russian and the Hindi millions do if only they would make up their minds for it? Yes, it is true that the tyrants in both lands are strong and well fortified, but after all there are only 200,000 English in Hindusthan, and there may be the same class and number of thieves in Russia seeking plunder all round. Comrades! Fellow sufferers! Come out! We can destroy them by a sweep in 24 hours if we organise and advance. Hind, Egypt and Ireland! Let us make a triple Alliance and the day will not be far off when we can fix upon a date for a simultaneous rising against our common enemy. Instead of such good solid work old men are wasting their time in petty and senseless quarrels over leadership. Come out, young men and women of Hindusthan! It is high time that you should control the destinies of your country. Never will any result be attained by washing other people's feet. Your emancipation can be achieved only through your own efforts. There is but one law for individuals and nations, viz, self-reliance. Let there be real comradeship in your camp. If we fight for establishing equality, let us first establish it where it is already in our power. The only test for workers and comrades should be **capacity** and **sincerity**. Age, wealth, sex, social and political position count for nothing. Let the young and the old, the rich and the poor, and men and women be equals. Show a genuinely democratic spirit and replace individual leaders by councils and groups of workers.

Hind has undergone agonies in giving birth to a new nation. Now cheer up the Mother by proving that the children are worth the sufferings. Young people, organise your revolution, and a Shivaji or a Guru Govindji, a Lakshmibai or a Chand Bibi will arise to lead your forces. George Washington took up generalship under a yew-tree. No war office was awaiting him. The Capitol was built after the fight. Leaders are born, they are not made. The nation finds them out at the right moment. Just now your aim should be only to better yourselves physically, mentally and morally and to spread the idea. Look upon ourselves only as so many pieces of wood to feed the fire on the altar of our Motherland, on the altar of Justice, Truth and Liberty! Young India, Young Egypt, Young Ireland, strike with a bold determined hand! Arise!

BANDE MATARAM!

Bhikhaiji Rustom Cama.

The Hindi Revolutionary Nationalists in Europe have sent the following telegram to the President of the Portuguese Republic:

„The Hindi Revolutionary Nationalists in Europe send their congratutations and friendly salutations on the establishment of the Republic and express their hope that it will always be a friend of all nations struggling for their liberty."

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THE BANDE MATARAM

A Monthly Organ of Indian Independence

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.

(*Gautama Buddha*).

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All communications should be addressed to Madame CAMA, 25, Rue de Ponthieu, Champs Elysées, Paris (France).

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IN MEMORIAM.

10th. NOVEMBER 1910.

Sacred to the Memory of the noble son of Bengal,

KANAI LALL DUTT,

who walked straight into the lion's den, by shooting, Gossain, the approver, in the Alipore Jail Hospital, and who was put to death by our enemies on 10th. Nov. 1908.

Pride of Hindusthan.

Beingtoo far away to put a Champa wreath on thy untimely grave. I put a couple of verses from Grey's "Elegy written in a country" church Yard ~~small~~ at the foot of this In Memoriam:

Can Storied Urn or animated bust;
Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath?
Can Honour's voice provoke the silent dust;
Or flattery soothe the dull cold ear of death?

BHIKHAIJ RUSTOM CAMA.

The Moral Bleeding.

Hideous Symptoms of Degeneracy.

The Duty of Nationalists.

The death of Edward VII, late King of England, "has opened the floodgates of moral turpitude in Indian Society." So we wrote in a recent issue of this journal. But the symptoms of moral decay and social disintegration that have developed during this month have filled us with the deepest sorrow and anxiety. Perhaps the presence of a revolutionary party in the country has led ordinary men to show themselves meaner and more hypocritical than they would otherwise have done. But even after making due allowance for the reaction which must be produced by the turn of events in India among the timid and concienceless classes, we confess ourselves unable to explain the unnatural and degrading debauch of "loyalty" that Indian society is indulging in. We include the whole society in our censure except the revolutionary party, for prominent men in a country cannot outrage the moral sense of their community with impunity. But in India the disgusting outburst of "loyalty" calls forth no protest from the mass of the population.

After meetings and messages and demonstrations have appeared subscription lists and donations and proposals for memorials. And all articulate India has joined this mad orgy of servile hypocrisy and adulation. We doubt if the morally emasculated subject peoples of the Roman empire had ever sunk to a lower level of degradation. India wants to erect a memorial to Edward; India wants to perpetuate her own infamy and shame. She wishes to raise a statue to Edward at Delhi or build a sanatorium in the hills in his name or establish a technical institute to commemorate his reign. And not even the erewhile valiant *Amrita Bazar Patrika* raises a voice of warning against this sacrilege. The oracles are dumb: decrepit Hinduism rings its own deathknell in the million temples of India but not one Brahman, not one jagadguru, not one yellow-robed sanyasi, not one representieve of the national honour, of the national conscience, yea, of the national hart-ache, not one among millions feels that it is his duty to cry to this demented race "Fools and villains, ye who desecrate these fair temples with your presence, who soil this beauteous land of Ind with your sin-conceived, sin-begotten, sin-nourished, and sin-exhaling bodies, whose human physionogmy is a blot on the human race and a shame to mankind all over the world, whither are ye going in your folly and wickedness? Is it not enough that you have sold your freedom, the honour of your ancestors and of your women, the lakshmi of your land and the birthrights of the children who have the misfortune to be born from your loins, is not this enough to fill the measure of your shame? Is it not enough that you are slaves and pariahs in the world, beaten and flogged in its markets and squares wherever you go? Is it not enough that your cowardice and avarice make your shame stink in the nostrils of the neighbouring peoples, whose countries you help your masters to enslave, you who have already sold your own? But must you *voluntarily* give money to perpetuate your nation's shame. Must you offer *of your own freewil* to raise columns and pillars, monuments and statues to teach your children that they are the slaves of England? Do they not learn the bitter truth every day of their lives? Do not hunger and pestilence and prisons and barracks teach it to them every moment? Fools and villains, rajas and landowners, pleaders and journalists,

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merchants and officials, whoever you be, traitorous matricides stop in your mad race after death even now. Shame not your brethren in the eyes of the world by your baseness. Better far would it have been for you, had you never been born."

For here comes a certain stetaharajah of Patiala, offering 2 lakhs of rupees for Edward's memorial, and here are Nabha and others giving munificently out of what they call "*their*" treasuries. And again subscriptions rain in for the proposed statue to Minto, so that even Reuter's Agency has to mention in its message that "the manner in which Indian princes and gentlemen are subscribing for the Minto statue, started by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, is unprecedented."

And who are these maharajas of Patiala and Nabha and others to contribute so much money for such a purpose? Have they earned a pie of it with the sweat of their brow? Who has made them custodians of this treasure? Who are these be-jewelled and caparisoned rajas to dishonour the religion and national pride of their people in this manner? It is necessary that the peoples of our States should rise in their wrath and put an end to the despotic regime which is undermining their vitality. As in Persia and Turkey, so in semi-independent India, the cowardly effeminate despot is the real enemy of the State, the real friend of England. Hence we lay it down that the people of the States should take their administration in their own hands, and establish a constitutional regime, otherwise the British will plunder and emasculate them through the instrumentality of these phantom-rajas, as Napoleon used the vanity and selfishness of the little courts of Germany to form the Rhenish Confederation in furtheranee of his imperial designs.

And these "princes and gentlemen" who are subscribing so liberally, who are they? Where were they when Arabindo's sister, our sister, your sister, begged before all India the paltry sum of a few thousand rupees to save her brother's life, her brother's and our comrade's life? Have these "princes and gentlemen" no sisters? Where were their purses when Chidambaram Pillay's wife begged all India for a few morsels of bread for herself and her children during the absence of her martyred husband? and she begs still, the forlorn mother of children orphaned by the patrie. Have these "princes and gentlemen" inquired how the wives and children of our martyrs and heroes are faring, whether they have even dry crusts of bread to eat with tears to water them while their homes are desolated and the life of their life is extinguished for ever?

Oh Hindu youths and old men, scum of the earth, by what name shall I call you? You, who offer money to raise statues to Edward and Minto, and you who tolerate such traitors in your midst and others who do not know to rouse social opinion against them, all of you, whether you are actively participating in this devil's dance of unprincipled treachery to the nation or passively watching it as unconcerned spectators, all of you are thieves and dishonest stewards in that you take the bread out of the mouth of the children of Hindusthan and waste it for the glory of our enemies and the perpetual shame of your progeny.

And not one limb of the body politic is sound. Here is the old hypocrite, Madan Mohan Màlaviya, the sanctimonious priest of orthodoxy, he who would never eat beef or even drink water in the presence of a European, whose forehead is adorned with the marks of double-dyed brahmanism, who speaks by the hour on the platform of Bhàrat dharma mahà mandal and other similar institutions, here he his, this pure undefiled champion of Hinduism, proposing to erect a pillar to commomorate the proclamation of 1858 and to lay out a park in honour of Lord Minto, and again here is the Arya Samaj, the Gurukula section, contributing Rs. 500, as a collective offering towards Edward's memorial. This samaj counts among its ranks men who would not dine at the same table with a person who eats meat. Its leader, Lala Munshi Ram founder of the Gurukula academy declares publicly that he objects to dining with a person who does not obstain from meat and wine. And this samaj, which has not honoured in a fit manner its own heroes like Lekh Ram and Guru Datt, offers Rs. 500.— in token of its hearty recognition of the blessings of slavery, which is perhaps enjoined as a duty by all the Vedas and which Swami Dayanand omitted to mention in the ten Rules by an oversight. This samaj, which chants hymms till the earth is sick of its noisy hollow piety has not had the decency to remain indifferent as a body, as a social organisation. It must needs demonstrate that not even new religion, coming all hot from the furnace of a new prophet's soul, who died not 30 years ago, can cure the Hindu mind of its baseness and meanness, its fear of earthly masters and its attachment toearthly goods. The teaching of the four Vedas has not produced the freeman's soul in this samaj, let alone the higher gifts of spiritual power.

And what shall we do? What should you do, my comrades, who feel the shame of it all, who see the tragedy in its darkest colours? Of course, no one of us will ever contribute a single pie for the erection of statues, which it is the bounden duty of all nationalists to hew down as soon as they are placed on the pedestal. But this is not sufficient. You must start a social campaign against the Indian leaders of the movement, who mislead their ignorant brethren and set the evil example first. The whole society must show that it hates them, that it rejects and utterly repudiates them. There are times when honest souls can abide in patience and silence working for the final triumph of good. But there are moments, where the soul of a nation must assert itself at all risks, when the slow steady fire of piety and indignation, which burns in every true heart must flash forth to consume the evil and the evil doers when it is a sin to be silent and patient while the wicked mature their plans with impunity and audacity. Hence our young men must openly and actively combat the pernicious influence of the slavish leaders, who organise movements for the establishment of memorials to Minto and others and who give money for the purpose. We must rouse society against them and prevent their plans from taking shape.

So let us be active in dissuading the nation from taking part in this degrading carnival of slavery and shame, or we shall share in the guilt. Let us hasten to the rescue.

And the great orthodoxy of India does not disown him, does not turn him out of its ranks! Dead onthodoxy, dead society! Rotten it is from top to bottom, without a soul, without a concience! Juel for the burning pyre, offal for Nature's dunghill, carrion for the imperial races, the ravens and vultures of history, the great scavengers and purifiers of the Augean stable of human society. And this ominous croaking Madan Mohan typifies it all, one can see the whote tragedy in a single glance!

Deshbhakt Savarkar.

For this month, we have nothing more to communicate to our readers, save the following official information:

THE SAVARKAR CASE.

TEXT OF THE ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT.

PARIS, Nov. 11th.

The following is the text of the Agreement between the French and English Governments regarding the Savarkar affair: —

The Government of the French Republic and the Government of his Britannic Majesty, having agreed by means of an exchange of Notes dated October 4and 5, 1910, to submit to arbitration, on the one hand, the questions of fact and right raised by the arrest and the taking back on board the steamship Morea on July 8, 1910, at Marseilles, of the Indian, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, who escaped from that boat, on which he was a prisoner, and, on the other hand, the claim of the Government of the Republic for the surrender of Savarkar; the undersigned, duly, authorized to that effect, have agreed on the following arrangement.

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Article 1.—An arbitration tribunal, composed as set forth below, will be charged to decide the following question. Ought Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, in conformity with the rules of international law, to be or not be surrendered by the Government of his Britannic Majesty to the Government of the French Republic?

Article 2.—The arbitration tribunal will be composed of five arbitrators chosen from among the members of the Permament Court at The Hague. The two contracting parties will come to an agreement as to the composition of the tribunal. Each of them shall have the right to nominate as arbirator one of its nationals.

Article 3—On December 6, 1910, each of the high contracting parties shall deposit at the office of the Permanent Court 15 copies of its case, together with duly certified copies of all papers and documents which it intends to cite in the proceedings. The office will undertake to forward them without delay to the arbitrators and the parties in the case, two copies being supplied to eaeh of the parties, while two copies will remain in the archives of the office. On January 17, 1911, the high contracting parties' will deposit in the same way their counter-cases, with the documents in support thereof. The counter-cases may give occasion for replies, which must be presented within a fortnight to the handing in of the counter-eases. The periods fixed under the present arrangement for the handing in of the cases, countercases, and replies may be extended by mutual agreement between the high contracting parties.

Article 4.—The Tribunal will meet at The Hague on February 14, 1911. Each party shall be represented by an agent charged to act as intermediary between it and the Tribunal. The Arbitration Tribunal shall be able, if it deems it necessary, to request one or the other of the agents to furnish it with explanations. verbal or written, to which the agent of the opposite party shall have the right of replying. It will also have power to cite withnesses before it.

Clause 5.—The parties may employ either the English or the French language. The members of the Tribunal may employ at will either the French or the English language. The decisions of the Tribunal will be rendered in the two languages.

Clause 6.—The decision will have to be issued in the shortest possible time, 30 days at most, after the date of the meeting at The Hague or that of the handing in of the written explanations, which will be furnished to it at its request. The time limit, however, may be prolonged if the Tribunal so demands, provided that the two chief contracting parties consent to such a step.

Done in London in two copies, the 25th day of October, 1910.

PAUL CAMBON.
E. GREY.

"Talk not to me of a name great in Story
The days of our youth are the days of our Glory."

Young Hind! how sad and humiliating it is to see the home papers every week and to read the confessions one after another in the Nasik case (which has been dragged on by our enemies in the so called Courts of justice in Bombay)!

These young traitors; are they the worthy disciples of the great teachings of Hinduism and Budhism?

What is this madness of making long confessions? Have they not learnt anything from the lesson which our most noble brother and hero Shri Kanai Lal Dutt has given, by shooting the wretch Gossain in the very prison?

Do these wretches believe that they will live to enjoy life, by turning traitors, and slipping out of their sentences?

There may be torture used no doubt; but what makes our young men degrade themselves like this, is not the physical torture. No! It is the lack of organisations for preparing them for the Revolution, and for the noble work of self sacrifice. It is the *want* of *moral* and *mental Drill*; side by side with the physical drill.

Young Hind, Young Egypt and Young Ireland! I will republish for you a pamphlet "How the Russians organise a revolution" and I think you will find it interesting and instructive My young friends and comrades, I am not for imitating and aping; but it is necessary to study all the different methods and then *alone* we can pick out what is adaptable to our dispositions and circumstances.

It is a fact that Oriental Peoples are not much for discipline and therefore nothing is more important than taking mental notes of what discipline means in the West, where all countries, all parties, be they Imperialist or Socialist, Liberals or Conservatives, Reactionary or Revolutionary as have silence and sacrifices as their watch words. In the West they look to discipline as the chief and the most important weapon while we Hindis, the descendants of great self-denying races are lacking discipline entirely; and yet how many thousand men and women must have perished in Hindusthan by voluntary self torturing ? I can only add "Look on this picture and then on that".

BHIKHAIJI RUSTOM CAMA.

As others see us.

I.

At the Egyptian National Congress held at Brussels last September on which we offered a few critical remarks in our last issue, a most interesting and instructive paper was read by M. Hamed El Alaily on the "Future of Egypt. The moral and intellectual aspects of Egyptian Nationalism". This has been published in pamphlet form and deserves to be widely read by Nationalists of all countries.

The following observations which the writer makes, in the course of his thoughtful paper will be of interest to our readers.

"The first result of the foreign rule will be the impoverishment of the country. All colonising nations go about the earth seeking whom to devour. They plunder weaker peoples in various ways. They exact tributes, pay high salaries to their officers, draw interest on their investments, reap profit from their commercial relations with the subject country, carry away all the minerals and precious metals, and thus tap all the sources of wealth that they can find. The excessive taxation will reduce the peasantry to the lowest levels of destitution. For all their agricultural wealth will go to pay the exorbitant salaries demanded by foreign officials and the interest on the capital invested for the "development" of the land by the foreign capitalist. The people will not get enough to eat, and misery and desolation will reign in every home.

In that word "destitution" lies concealed a mass of moral and mental suffering which can hardly be realised by my audience. And if the drain of Egyptian wealth from Egypt to England, which will set in as a result of the British occupation, will make the people of Egypt destitute even of the barest necessaries of life, what consequences will follow.

Famines will devastate the land, as in India. Look at British dominion anywhere in the world. The poliçy of the English is to kill out or starve to death the subject races, so that may be ample room for English colonists. Famine always decimates the populations that have submitted to England. It is the inevitable accompaniment of the Union Jack in the East. For the people will be too poor to purchase the food stuffs that their own country produces. Such is the case in India where they have been 18 Famines in the last 25 years and where 19 million people have died of starvation and the diseases that sprung from it in the last decade of the nineteenth century. In Ireland, newborn babies have died by the roadside and on bleak moors and heaths.

This will surely happen to Egypt, if the English remain there. Picture to yourself, my comrades, the horrible future that is in store for you. Your children will die like flies by thousands, while the country will abound with grains and wealth of every kind. The peasants will search for grains of wheat in the excrements of horses and cowes as they have done in India. They will eat dry leaves and grind the bark of trees to make flour as they have done in India. Women will sell their children for a few piastres

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and suck the bones of meat that are thrown on the dunghill outside the gates of the rich as they have done in India. The dead will not be buried, and heaps of corpses will be thrown into the Nile under the supervision of English officials as has been done in India. The famished wanderers will sink down to rise no more on the road, and the land will be strewn with dead bodies like a field of battle, as has been the case in India. And above all this scene of misery will rejoice the alligators, the vultures and the British colonists, as they have done in India. Wait a little and my words will be fulfilled, if you do not sacrifice all that is dear to you for the cause of the freedom of your country. Your fate will be worse than that which has befallen India and more terrible than that which has overtaken Ireland.

"Do not imagine that I am exaggerating the horrors that await you. No, my feeble pen cannot describe half. The misery and shame and distress, that will be the lot of our children, if we do not throw off the stranger's yoke now. To all who would ask me further questions, I would say: "Go to India, see for yourself. India is the eternal and awful warning for all weak and fallen nations. If you wish to observe the effects of British rule, go to India and look around you. May our children never be reduced to such a plight. May they kill themselves nobly and bravely rather than live in Egypt if Egypt becomes a second India. May Egypt be people with Englishmen from the sea to the desert rather than that our children should live in it as the Hindus live in India". Learn the lesson, my comrades, which the fate of India should teach you. Learn it before it is too late.

II.

The Egyptian Nationalist organ *El Alam* which is pushing on a vigorous campaign against the British occupation of Egypt, has from time to time been publishing excellent articles on the Indian movement of liberation, in order to stimulate and encourage Young Egypt. In a recent it produced a translation of the whole of our article on Deshbandhu Aiyar, which appeared in our September number, and added a lengtry and valuable comment of its own in which it urged the young men of Egypt to follow Deshbandhu Aiyar's noble example of self-sacrifice and patriotism. It exhorted them to desist from association with the alien regime and to accept no honour or emolument at the hands of the enemies of their country. We sincerely trust that this very sound advice will be followed by our Egyptian friends, for national independence cannot be attained by men who are incapable of taking even this first step.

The Diwali Festival.

The Smaller and the Greater Diwali.

The Deepavaly festival has come and gone. It is one of the most ancient institutions of the Indian people. It is also one of their most beautiful festivals. It dates from the time of Prince RAMA. For it celebrates the return from fourteen years' self-imposed exile of RAMA and SEETA and LAKSHMAN, when Ayodhya poured forth in her thousands to receive them, and all towns of Aryan India were iluminated in their honour. This event is commemorated year after year by the people of India, so that the names of the heroes and heroines of old should be transmitted from generation to generation. Thus the Promethen spark of social vitality is passed on from century to century, for the life of a people lives in its character and its character is moulded by its traditions and social institutions.

And yet Time has dealt cruelly with us. It has taken the spirit out of the festival and the old names awaken no echoes in our hearts. All India celebrates the Diwali. All house-tops and balconies glitter with lovely lamps, and all homes are bright with the light of love and joy. And the merry crowd passes in a never-ending stream before the shops filled with clay models of gods and goddess and sages and prophets, and yet this is not the real Diwali, for no one thinks of Ayodhya, where the English flag floats over the ruins of the glory of the Solar Race. And no one thinks of the last scions of that race, who are vegetating in the lonely corner of Udaipur. And no one understands why the lamps shine and the cities are filled with shouting crowds.

And who celebrate the Diwali to-night? There are those who celebrate it in peace and joy, sitting at home with their wives and children around them, who see their happiness reflected in the faces of those whom they love, when eye speaks to eye and heart responds to heart. There are those who celebrate it in dark prisons tonight, where there is no light but the light of their pure souls and no joy but the joy of serving the cause of Freedom. And there are those who celebrate it in a far-away little island in the Bay of Bengal the cradle of liberty hallowed by the foot-steps of the saints, who suffer a harder exile than that of Rama, in which no Sita can go with them to lighten their sorrow and the end of which may not come in 14 years. And there are those who celebrate it in distant lands, pursued by the impotent rage of the British tyrants, under strange skies and among strange peoples, the devoted men and women who wander on the face of the earth in quest of the Holy Grail of Liberty, of which they have seen only a passing glimpse with their minds' eye. Yet the vision has fired their hearts. And last but not least, there are those who celebrate it with tears and prayers, the wives and children of the saints of freedom, who are in dark dungeons or in the far off isle in the Bay of Bengal or in the heavenly abode of the immortal heroes of humanity. And in their homes there is no light, and in their hearts is no joy. But the faithfulness of the wife is the crown of her suffering and the misery of the children is the golden heritage of glory bequeathed to them by the father. Thus all Indians celebrate Diwali, every one in his own way. Tell us, reader, who celebrates it most worthily? Whose offering is most acceptable to the gods?

But I see with my mind's eye a greater Diwali which is to come. As Rama and Sita were banished and came back, even so the exiles of freedom will return from the four corners of the earth, from Asia and Africa and America and Europe and from the little far-off islet in the Bay of Bengal. And as Rama came not alone but brought with him allies from southern India and tributary princes from Lanka and fame and glory, even so we will not come home empty handed from our travels but will bring to our people the gift of freedom and great ammunition of war and tempered swords and strong arms used to combat, and the friendship of the Irish, the Egyptians, and other nations of the earth. And as Sita went with Rame, so shall our sisters stand by side in our wanderings, And as Rama and Sita left Ayodhya because they loved truth; so have the exiles left their country because they would not tell a lie. Thus when the Ramas and Sitas of the New Age will return to India after achieving great deeds in foreign lands, they will receive a welcome a thousand times more loving than that which Ayodhya offered to Rama and Sita. And the greater Diwali will be celebrated when the land is sacred and fit for the holy feast. And the lamps shall be of burnished gold, and the purest ghee will feed the flame and they will shine on every housetop and every tower and every hill and every peak of the mountains that guard us and images of heroes and heroines will be seen in every square but not clay images as now — pure marble white as snow will enshrine the figures of our heroes and heroines, and the light of the lamps of burnished gold will be reflected from their faces into every corner of the land.

Thus will come the greater Diwali. They whitewash and cleanse the houses for this smaller Diwali. Cleanse your hearts, my comrades, for the greater Diwali, for no vile or ignorant man will share in it. It will be the festival of New India — of love and truth and joy. Prepare ye the way for it.

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THE BANDE MATARAM

A Monthly Organ of Indian Independence

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.

(*Gautama Buddha*).

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The Genius and Traditions of the Race.

In these days of universal demoralisation and shameless mendacity in India, one often hears of the spirit of the Indian people, of their spiritual genius, of their lofty traditions of ethics, of the history of our ancient race, and the conclusion to be drawn from all this clap-trap is that the Indians should not prepare for armed rebellion against their foreign rulers but that they should wage a war of words, spilling ink instead of blood, and wearing out pens instead of wearing swords. We shall not stop to condemn the cowardly and wicked "leaders," who prostitute their talent for the purpose of securing the safety of their skins. They are beneath condemnation. They should be despised and put outside the pale of social intercourse. We shall take this occasion to show how the "genius" of the Hindu people has expressed itself in history, how its "lofty traditions" have grown up, what its ideal of social and individual activity has been and how we can best rebut the calumnies of these degenerate weaklings, who dishonour the memory of their ancestors. The most recent instance of this misdemeanor hails from Bengal. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji has been holding forth at the United Bengal Conference lately, and has been abusing the sacred gift of eloquence to utter lies and propagate sham. We often think of Milton's Balial, when we reflect on his present tactics.

"He seemed
For dignity composed and high exploit:
But all was false and hollow, though his tongue
Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason to perplex and dash
Maturer counsels (for his thoughts were low,
To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds
Timorous and slothful), yet he pleased the ear".

So Mr. S. N. Banerji has been preaching the old gospel of constitutionalism again. He said: "Apart from the higher moral considerations which in the long run govern the affairs of men.... apart from these higher moral principles which have been preached by our sages, sung by our poets, which run through the blood of our people, which are a part and parcel of the life of the individual and of lhe life of the nation..... apart from them, the commonest dictates of prudence point to constitutional means as the only egitimate, the only useful weapon in political warfare".

On this occasion, we shall not discuss the ethical aspects of the question, nor shall we consider the practical utility of constitutional methods. We shall not even stop to make the all important preliminary inquiry as to the scope and character of these some "constitutional" methods. We shall only try to wipe away the stigma cast upon the whole race, its ancient teachers and lawgivers by this windbag of an orator, who does not think that he is insulting the memory of the great men of the race by thus dragging them in for the purpose of adorning (?) his speech. Why does he not teach on his own authority and why does he go out of his way to mention the "sages" and "poets" and the "principles, which run through the blood of our people". This trick of calumniating our ancestors has been adopted by all the timid "leaders" in this crisis. They hope that their voice may be heard by the people of India, who love their ancient scriptures and who have erected the worship of antiquity into their national religion. We condemn this dishonest procedure in the name of our heroic and wise men of the past. In the name of the dead who can inspire us with true life and save us from the very Jaws of death, but who cannot defend themselves against the malicious charges brought against them by any irresponsible charlatan, we condemn this unprincipled treachery to the past. Fight your battles in the present: curse and abuse one another to your heart's content: level good and bad arguments like rotten eggs at your adversary's head: parade your historical knowledge and your seeming wisdom before the youth of India: indulge in longwinded discourses on the blessing of law and order: all this is admissible, all this can be tolerated by the people. But we advise our moderate enemies to resond the past as sacred, for it is theirs as much as ours, it is the common heritage of the whole nation irrespective of religious and political creed, it is the great unifying bond in this dissolving society, it is the secret of life in this dying system. Touch it not with irreverent hands, speak not of it with frivolous levity, do not pervert it for a moment's selfish satisfaction, do not mispresent it to serve the exigences of political life in the present if you wish to remain safe and unscathed in the storm that rages around you, resort to all the devices that your conscienceless imagination can invent. But when you talk of the sages and the prophets, we say to you what Jehova said to Moses from the burning bush: "Take off thy shoes, for the ground whereon thou standest ist holy" We shall therefore demonstrate that the teaching of our sages and poets and the principles that run in the blood of our people are exactly the reverse of what Mr. Banerji has described them to be.

Let us observe the various manifestations of the national genious which can give us a clue to the solution of the question. We shall consider the social institutions of the Indian people, their religious literature, their profane literature and their present folk-lore and habits in order to show that righteous war is the burden of Hindu song and fable, that the ideal of Hindu ethics is a life of benevolence devoted to the pursuit of the good of humanity in peace and in war, and that our race is not a race of poltroons or of jingoes, but of rightminded people, who have loved peace but who have not shrunk from war in time of necessity.

Let us look at the social system. The second place in the social life is accorded not to the succesful brewer or the wealthy oil-merchant, but to the soldier. After the Brahman comes the Kshattriya. This fact is a striking emblem of the genius of the nation

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and of its sound common sense too. For what is material prosperity worth, if it is not controlled by wisdom and protected by the sword. In Europe, the soldier occupies a very low position in society. He is regarded only as a vile instrument for the execution of the imperial designs of the middle and upper classes. He constitutes only the armed proletariat, which is to exploited like the industrial wage-earners. We have even heard of the old veterans dying of starvation among the richest and the most bellicose nations of Europe. And we have ourselves seen veterans begging their bread of strangers whose ancestors they were sent out to conquer. But in Hindu society, a soldier is an honourable member of the body politic, and stands above the millionaire in general esteem. He is poor and illiterate, but society offers him a higher place than that given to the cultured trader, who lives in opulence and commands the labour of thousands. For it feels that all learning and wealth are like the chaff that the wind bloweth to all corners of the earth, if the soldier is not present to guard them.

All lawgivers have ratified and sanctioned this custom. No one has ventured to put the dollar above the sword. The dollar may be almighty but the Hindu genius perceived that the sword was mightier still. Hence that genius consecrated this sound idea in the establishment of the social hierarchy, which is the very sign and symbol of the national spirit.

Let us study the religious literature and institutions of the people in the light of history. The Vedas are a long chant in praise of war and the greatest blessing that could be asked for was heroic progeny. Indra was the god who led the Aryans to victory in battle. The enemies were to be utterly destroyed. The hymns to Indra read like magnificent martial songs to be sung to the accompaniment of military music. The Vedas, then, the fount and source of Hindu religious life, the most ancient depositaries of the national spirit, not only permit war, but glorify it. They breathe an atmosphere of battle. Dull would he be of soul who is not thrilled with ardour on reading these impassionned songs of war.

The Brahmanas are only exegetic commentaries on the Vedas and the Upanishads are taken up with philosophical meditations. The Sutras again show that the primary object of sacrifice was victory and the preservation of society through the good will of the gods. In the Smritis, we find the institution of a warrior class and even Parasara, the representative of Hindu thought in the ages of decadence, lays down that a soldier, who falls in the battle facing the enemy, is equal to the ascetic who has renounced all worldly ties. Surely the apotheosis of the sword could go no further.

The Puranas are full of descriptions of combats between gods and demons. But the most remarkable proof of the persistence of the old Vedic spirit, is the interesting mythology evolved in the Puranas for the purpose of explaining various sociological cosmosomic problems. Here we have a succession of Avataras or incarnations of the Deity, who benefit the world by destroying some great demon or tyrant. Krishna killing Kansa, Rama slaying Ravana, Parasurama exterminating the Kshattriyas, Narasimha tearing the bowels of Hiranyakassyapa, these are all the favourite themes of Purananic poets; and the imagination of every Hindu boy is nurtured on these images of popular faith. This should then be the groundwork of the "principles that run in our blood" as Mr. Banerji puts it. Again the Puranas have not given the greatest place in the Pantheon to Brahma or Vishnu or Kama or Ganesha, but to Siva the god of death and destruction, the fiery-eyed Rudra, whose finger guides all beings to their common destiny with inexorable constancy. And the worship of Durga, the enemy of demons, is one of the most widely spread cults in India. Sikhism again, is the very incarnation of the military spirit. And it represents the best Hindu thought of the middle ages. Thus we see that Hindu religion has always recognised that man should exert his phisical force for good purposes. Even the softening influence of Buddhism did not emasculate or enervate this energetic race. It only ennobled and purified it. Buddha himself sanctioned the institution of the army in the teaching communicated to Anatapindaka. And the Indian people reached the highest point of political development in the reign of Asoka, the missionary king of Buddishm and the founder of a vast empire that extended beyond the confines of India.

Coming to the profane literature of India, we find that epic poems celebrate heroes and heroines and not prating orators or timid journalists. The Ramayana goes further and holds up to the admiration of the world the ideal type of man in the person of Rama; the strong man who broke Janak's bow and won an empire in Southern India for the Aryan race. The Mahabharata preaches the justifiability of war even against one's own kith and kin for virtue. And this is the theme of the popular poem, the Bhagavadgita. If there is any orator or politician, who asserts that these three books, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Gita (which is incorporated in the Mahabharata) do not embody and represent the traditions and ideal of the Hindu people, he is to be taken for an ignoramus or a villain. Now, what is the spirit of these books? They are instinct with the breath of war. Rama, Krishna Arjuna, Bhima, Yudhishthira, Karna, these are the names that we have lisped in our childhood, these are the figures that have fired our boyish imagination. Where has Mr. Banerji gone to learn those "higher principles" which teach ignoble case and cowardice?

And whom do the poets sing? Kalidasa sings of the conquest of Raghu and of the birth of the war-god in his two great poems. His heroine is Sakuntala the mother of the great empire built by Bharata, who gave his name to our country. Bhavabhuti immortalises the exploits of Rama: one of his dramas is named "The Acts of the Great Hero" Bharavi sings the life and deeds of Arjuna and his duel with Siva. Tulsi could find no greater theme than the life of Rama. And the Bhagvat-Purana recounts the deeds of Krishna.

Indeed the national mind reverts continually to these two heroes Rama and Krishna, and the literary genuis of the Hindu race has exhausted itself in describing their life and character. These two names, then, stand as the symbol of Hindu ethics and social ideal. Their life is the best exponent of the higher moral principles, which our sages have thought and our poets have sung.

Finally, we look at the condition of the peasantry to-day. There are 120 million fighting men in India, in spite of various conquests and disarming acts. This number represents à population of "warrior tribes" whose favourite occupation is war. It is larger than the whole Roman empire. What ideas and principles "run in the blood" of these 120 million fighting tribes? Surely not those preached by Mr. Banerji.

The customs of the people testify to their manly spirit even in these degenerate days. The great national festival is the Dasehra which gives our nation even now an opportunity of triumphing on our enemies in open combat once a year. The ballads which the peasants love to hear on summer nights recount the deeds of Thawahar Singh and Durgadas, Alta-Udal and Guru-Govind The Ballad of Alta-Udal begins with the fine image that this hero "defeated even the sword". And, apart from the present, what dreams visit the sleep of the toil-worn peasant, what sweet hopes linger in his breast like the last rays of the sun on the mountain tops? Though he is oppressed and maltreated and plundered by all who deal with him, he cherishes in his heart of hearts the great tradition of his race that the end of the world is not yet, that India has not seen the last chapter of her history, but that a day will arrive when the sons of India would be called upon to march under banner of the all conquering Kalki-Avatar, who will destroy the Rakshasas like Rama and Krishna. This is the sigh of the Hindu race, its prayer and its vision. The Messiah will come, not as a vain talker or as a mere preacher, but as a warrior-saint, holding the mirror of Truth in one hand and the sword of Justice in the other.

Thus everything points to the same truth, religion, folk-lore, song and story, feast and fast, all the institutions of the nation show that the great principles of our philosophy and social ethics recognise and enjoin the fullest development of our faculties for the good of humanity. The ideal of the race is not some half-starved ascetic mutteriug prayer and incantations in a cell, nor a selfish monarch pursuing his ambitious designs nor a narrow minded Roman patriot working for his native city, nor a meditative sage sitting in the forest, nor a succesful bourgeois clamouring in an elected assembly, nor indeed a speech-mumbling insincere cowardly platform orator. The ideal of the nation is embodied in the twin figures of Rama and Krishna brave, strong, learned and righteous men, who loved the sword as their bride and virtue as the breath of their being, who put honour before life and were ever ready to risk their life in battle for their own honour and for the good of their fellowmen. Hence, O ye young men of India, in these dark days when Falsehood and Selfish cowardice stalk your illfated land like frightful demons in the dead of night, when Truth and Honour are banished from the hearts of your people and truthful and honourable men from your land even as Rama was driven out of Ayodhia, when even your noble traditions are perverted and distorted to subserve the interests of noisy egoism or crafty cowardice, in these days of

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universal lying and hypocrisy and shamelessness, hearken not unto your orators nor unto your old men charm they never so visely. There is a surer way before you; there is a more helpful guide near at hand. Remain true to the ideal of Rama and Krishna, the great heroes of your race, who were first in peace, first in war and first in the hearts of their countrymen. They love strengh, for the glory of a young man is his strengh. They love Knowledge, for wisdom is more precious than rubies. And above all, they loved virtue, for righteousness exalteth a nation. Go you and do likewise: be strong and learn martial exercises, be learned and seek knowledge like hidden treasure: be virtuous and honour truth and principle. Then shall freedom come to you as the flowers come to the trees in spring. This is the great law.

The Mist over the Valley.

The Progress of the Social Conquest.

News of a very disquieting character has been received from India. Two events occurring in widely separated localities have served to bring out into clear relief the growing weakness of a section of our people in the face of foreign aggression. It behoves us to be up and doing at once, lest the evil should grow while we are sleeping.

The following item of news has gone the round of the papers:

"In Tarakeswar Mahant's case, in which the public of the locality wanted to oust Satish Chander Giri from the guddie, the latter filed written statement refuting the allegations made against him. The case will be heard after the Puja vacation by the Judge of Hughly. This is the first case of its kind in Bengal."

Another piece of news that has saddened us is as follows:

"Tinnevelly, September 19. On Saturday the 17 th. from 9 A. M. to 12-30 P. M. the District Judge, Mr. K. Srinavasa Rao, held an investigation into the claims of the candidates for a vacant Temple Committee membership of the Siva Committees. The Court-house was crowded by the public, the candidates and their representatives. Several of the candidates were represented by Vakils and Counsel who advocated the claims of the candidates for whom they appeared. In some instances, the candidates themselves spoke in support of their claims".

Our readers should note the meaning of these events. We need not point out that the foreign rulers of the conquered country always try to control and guide all the social forces of the subject people in order to perpetuate their domination. They must bring every movement, social, religious or economic under their direction. Thus the subject people are deprived of all initiative and the prestige of the sirkar is enhanced. Further no institution can be used against the tyrants, for their hand is everywhere, destroying all vestiges of independence and patriotism from every corner of the unfortunate society which has fallen into their clutches. Thus foreign rulers monopolise education and sanitation and public activities of all kinds. They influence the leaders of religious society and try to make all activity among the subject people subservient to their mperial designs,

In India, there is one department of national life which has been somewhat safe from the meddlesome aggressive policy of the British. That department is that of religion. The British have already controlled education in a great measure. They control the new religious societies, which are composed of so-salled educated men. But the activities of the great time-honoured religious institutions of the people has as yet been free from official interference. The government is afraid of rushing in where angels would fear to tread. This centre of life and unity has not been touched with unhallowed hands. The great temples manage their affairs without official guidance. The ancient orders of friars and monasteries live their quiet life without taking account of the stranger's presence in the land, The all-prowerful Englishman still finds himself excluded from the Hindu temple like an outcast, though he is the political master of its worshippérs. Thus religion and its activities are to a large extent based on national self-government. It is a small corner saved from the general conflagration that is devouring every thing in its onward march. This respite is allowed us by time for our good.

The enemy has already attempted to introduce the thin end of the wedge even here slowly and continously. Religious processions must be authorised by the local officer in the interest of order. A body of English policemen should accompany them to keep the peace. The Arya Samaj should justify its existence and purge itself of all political elements. Some Gita Katha and Nagar-Kirtans have been prohibited in different parts of the country on political grounds. Learned Pundits, the glory of Kashi, are employed in the Queen's College at Banaras and are thus held in bondage. Laws have been framed against Hindu religion in the so-called interest of advanced sociology and of christianity. A convert to christianity is not to be deprived of his right to ancestral property. Customs and institutions which are obnoxious to the rulers have been abolished under various pretexts. Rash Behari Ghose brought up a Bill for the management of religious endowments in the Council in 1908, which was dropped as a clamour was raised in a certain section of the press against it. The enthusiastic English ladies and gentlemen who are enamoured of our religion and philosophy penetrate into the precincts of our religious life under various disguises thus establishing the supremacy of the white colour everywhere. Thus in many ways the crafty empire builders have already tried to lay hands on the vast throbbing machinery of our religious life which is the last bastion of the social citadel that they have now to conquer. It is for this reason that the events like those which we have noticed possess a special importance. The newspaper correspondent naively adds that the Tarkesvar Guddi case is the first of its kind in Bengal. What a pathetic tragedy is concealed in this intimation! It should also be the last of its kind not only in Bengal but in all India.

The Tinnevelly case is worse still. Here we find pleaders and graduates and notable worthies seeking place on the Temple Committee through the adjudication of the magistrate, who also reads them a lecture on duty and loyalty. The affairs of the Temple are grossly mismanaged, corruption is rife. Men want a place on the Committee not to serve the gods but themselves. And it is an officer of a foreign government, who is to decide the contest. The irony of the situation is rendered more bitter when we reflect that Southern India is the home of orthodoxy in its strictest forms and that these pleaders and graduates plume themselves on being the representatives of Hinduism pure and undefiled with its magnificent temples, its sacrifices and festivals, its rites and ceremonies, its pageants and processions, its social rules and restrictions. It is indeed grievous to find that with all this external pomp and splendour, the spirit of the religion is so feeble among these people. If there were a spark of true devotion and piety in the hearts or these debased selfseekers, if they love their religion half so well as they love wealth, if they had any sense of selfrespect, nay if they had any sense of propriety or even of humour, they would perceive at once the absurdity, incongruity, the stupidity of their proceedings. Is it in the nature of things, is it in consonance with the spirit of Hinduism that an officer of a christian and foreign government should be the judge and arbiter in a dispute about the management of a temple? The foreign rulers demand an inch but we give them an ell. They hesitate to interfere in our religious affairs, but we ourselves invite their intervention. They are only too glad to profit by our blindness.

And what is the cause of such lamentable social catastrophes? Is it political backwardness? No. It is want of faith, of a sense of duty of national pride, of ordinary common sense. The love of gold blinds those rival claimants to all other considerations but those of selfishness. They trade in religion as they trade in earthenware. They are neither Hindus nor Christians. mammon-worshippers whose god is their belly. If this spirit is allowed to work havoc in our religious institutions, the day will come when the revenues of these institutions will be transferred to the British treasury and the prayers of the gods will be altered in order to include injunctions to loyalty. The day will also come when British soldiers will barrack in the courtyards of these temples, and British officers will repose in the appartments which are now the innermost sanctuaries of these places of worship. It Is time that all Hindus should stand

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up bodily in defence of their religious institutions and say to the ever advancing tide of English interference and influence:— "Thus far and no further, thou accursed stygian flood of death!" This task is not difficult. It does not require much heroism. It can be accomplished within India by means of ceaseles vigilance. A mere protest will suffice at the present moment, for the tyrants know that they are playing a dangerous game. A mere protest will suffice now to avert an evil which all your groans and supplications will be powerless to remedy after it has attained more formidable proportion. Let all Hindus unite in making that protest. Let them prove to the English that the lion in his den is not asleep but watches. And the cunning spoilers will understand and refrain from their tactics.

A Sad Moment.

Blind Leaders of the Blind.

The inauguration of the Ranade Industrial and Economic Institute of Poona under the presidency of the Governor of Bombay gives rise to many reflections. Such events mark the trend of National opinion and enable the careful student of Sociology, to note which way the wind blows. Facts are more eloquent than hypotheses, and the opening of a useful and much needed institution under the ominous shadow of foreign patronage, the treachery of the dead and the ignorance of the living bodes no good to the future of India.

And first let us consider the deep significance of the phenomenon. Who was this same Ranade and what did he do to deserve a memorial? As we observed in our article on the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, the curse of modern India and indeed of all fallen nations is the sale of intellect by the talented classes in the market of the foreign rulers. As a general rule, almost every able man in India has his price, which is readily paid by the tyrants... a tahsildarship or a Deputy Commissionership or a professorship or a place in the archaeological or the metrological or the diabolical or any department whatsoever, which fetches a handsome salary of several hundred or even thousand rupees, with "brilliant prospects" for the future. To this class of mean trators did this much-belauded Ranade belong. Mr. Gokhale paid a tribute to his "great intellect, his profound learning and his prodigious industry". We admit all this, but this admission makes his crime more heinous. India is fallen, not because it lacks Intellect or Learning or Industry but because all these gifts exist without the guiding force of Principle and Character. It is the sad stern law of social science that a nation's intellect and wealth serve to hasten its final ruin and drag it lower in the abyss of moral turpitude, if they are not combined with Dharma or Character. For example, its intellect is employed in the service of its tyrants, or in mendacious journalism. Its wealth is used for the erection of monuments to its foreign rulers. Thus even its strength becomes weakness; and all its good turns to evil as the water of the Nile turned to blood in Egypt's evil day.

Mr. Ranade's career illustrates the poet's saying that:

> "The evil that men do lives after them,
> The good is oft interred with their bones."

He is a potent force for mischief even after his death, for his shame and meanness are to be immortalised in stone and marble by an undiscerning generation led by that wrong-headed coterie of active men at Poona who seem bent on employing their energy and enthusiasm for the ruin of their peoples. The founders of the Fergusson College and the servants of India society are all united in this blind devotion to the name of a wretched worldling who being born a Mahratta, sold his intellect to the enemies of his race and who dishonoured his Brahmin's thread by stooping to be a sudra in the service of the English for the sake of filthy lucre.

Mr. Gokhale assures us that "Mr. Ranade was a patriot if ever there was one." The remark raises a smile and brings a tear. Can any European child understand how a man, cooperating with the English for the consolidation of their empire in India, could be called a "patriot" in any sense of the word. He was not even one of those who remained neutral in the struggle between the conquerors and conquered. He actively, deliberately, and persistently helped the English in carrying out their policy in India. A mere tool of the tyrants, a trafficker in the blood of his people and in his own soul, a seller of his nation's honour and his own conscience for worldly honour and power and money... such a man whom posterity will curse as a traitor, whose name will be handed down to our children along with those of Jaychand and Man Singh and Mir Jaffir and other wretches who have sacrificed their country for Self... such a man is considered worthy of being honoured as a patriot There may be a dearth of patriots in India, but such conduct shows that Mr. Gokhale's clique do not even understand what patriotism means.

If he had been a patriot, would he have been loaded with honours and emoluments by the British Government, which offered him fat places and decorated him? Who ever heard of a "patriot" being on such good terms with the enemies of his country? Patriots in countries groaning under foreign tyranny are generally found in hidden places or in prisons or in convict establishments or in exile but never Judges on the bench or in the place of honour among assembled notables. They wear chains or the halter; but never the insignia of orders and decorations bestowed by the conquerors. It was Ranade who first promulgated the lie of a "divine dispensation", which, from being a mere figure of speech, has developed into a veritable will-o'-the-wisp to lead our youths into the bogs of constitutional agitation. It was he who advised Mr. Gokhale to offer that apology to the Bombay Government, which is a blot on the latter's career. It was he who started the method of petitioning before the inauguration of the first Congress by founding the Sarvajanik Sabha, which Deshbhakta Tilak found it necessary to break up later on. It was he who taught the Mahratta youths in the preface to his "History of the Mahrattas" that their history was an "irrevocable past". It was he who diverted the energies of the rising generation into useless channels and preached that political freedom was only a very remote ideal, for which centuries of tutelage under the fostering shade of British rule were necessary. In a word, all the worst tendencies of New India; all its fatal errors and its demoralising activities all its doleful illusions and its suicidal programmes, trace their source and origin to this man, who prostituted his magnificent intellect in the service of the government, and exhibited all his life that "deep and intelligent loyalty to the British Government", for which Mr. Gokhale praises him in his speech.

We lay it down as general rule for the guidance of our people that they should shun all government servants like poison, whether they be dead or alive, active or inert, educated or illiterate, Hindu or Musalman, man or woman. Whoever enters the service of the enemy has no part or lot with us. He is lost to his country. He is the meanest of mankind, the slave of gold and of the tyrant. This rule will save our comrades from many errors, and will cut at the root of all the sophistries of constitutional politicians. Have nothing to do with government servants. Neither eat with them nor drink with them nor visit them in sickness nor follow their coffin to the burning-ground nor remember their names after death. Thus shall our people understand that their slavery is due to the baseness of the traitors among them, who sell themselves to the government for offices and pensions. And of this despicable tribe, Ranade was one of the most wicked and the most contemptible, because he was so able and industrious. Beware of the snare of government service, all young men who are clever and ambitious, for the road to HELL is paved with gold. Your name will be rased out of the book of life and you will eat the bread of shame all your days if you fall into this snare. Beware of this danger in the days of your youth, when the heart hankers for money and the pleasure and the ways of *worldliness* are tempting to the soul.

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THE BANDE MATARAM

A Monthly Organ of Indian Independence

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.
(*Gautama Buddha*).

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All communications should be addressed to Madame CAMA, 25, Rue de Ponthieu, Champs Elysées, Paris (France).

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A CALL OF DUTY. — **We must remind our readers that though this journal is „prohibited" in Hindusthan, a very large number of copies nevertheles find their way into the homes of our countrymen, by whom it is much appreciated. We have frequently pointed out that the importation of all forms of revolutionary literature is a sacred duty incumbent upon every man and woman who is devoted to the cause of our country's independence. And we therefore request our readers to use every possible means that their ingenuity can devise to ensure the successful smuggling of this and subsequent issues of this journal into our country.**

The King of England's visit to India.

(From "Justice" Dec. 3 1910).

It is stated that the King will go to India and there hold a great Durbar of the Indian Princes and Feudatories at the beginning of 1912. This, in the present condition of India, is a bold step to take; though, if a really liberal and progressive policy is to be adopted, even thus late in the day, it may be a good thing to do. The Queen, it is also said, will accompany the Emperor.

We are of opinion, we say, that if this visit to that vast and populous Empire is intended as the commencement of a far-reaching policy which will lead to our speedy withdrawal from Hindustan, on terms that might leave the Emperor for the time being a nominal supremacy, this might be a possible solution of the most difficult problem in the British Empire. Nobody in his senses can suppose that a population of some 44,000,000 of people in a group of islands in the North Sea can keep permanent control of a number of nations thousands of miles away, with a long and glorious history of their own, differing widely amongst themselves, it is true, but bound together more and more every day by one great and growing hatred of the foreigners who ruin and degrade them. That the foreigners cannot win in the long run is, at any rate, a certainty. Mohammedans, Hindoos, Sikhs, Pathans and Mahrattas are learning day by day that by far their worst enemies in India are the interloping English carpet-baggers who drain them of their wealth. The marvel is that such a rule, so conducted, has endured so long.

We fear, however, that there is no intention at all on the part of George V., King and Emperor, to rise to the level of the magnificent opportunity ahead of him. The King, no doubt, is a devoted Imperialist; but what a pigmy he looks to-day by the side of Akbar or Shah Jehan. They were foreigners truly, men of quite a different creed from the majority of the population; but they formed part of the peoples they governed, and India flourished greatly under their rule. Under the rule of the Guelphs from George III, to George V. India has been converted into the most awful pauper warren the world has ever seen. The causes of this unexampled poverty are well known. Year after year there is drained without return from India 50 per cent more than the total proceeds of the rack-rented Land Revenue. Year after year now 32 crores of rupees are expended on military purposes to maintain and enforce the yoke of the foreigners. Where £ 15,000,000 are paid in salaries to Englishmen a far larger number of natives of at least equal capacity have to be content with £ 3,000,000.

India ruined materially, is being crushed intellectually and debased morally. This land of a splendid past is, if still we continue our career of greedy and tyrannous ineptitude, doomed maybe to a generation or two yet of still more terrible and hopeless squalor.

Unless—Either the Emperor of India, clearing his mind from the counsels of the mean profit-mongers around him, declares to the Princes and Peoples of India that he is determined to carry out the falsified pledges of his grandmother and his father to their fullest extent. Or unless—Despairing of justice, and deprived of all hope, the desperate people of India band themselves together (as quite probably they are banding themselves together to-day) in one tremendous endeavour to carry out a huge Sicilian Vespers *) which shall rid them of our hateful dominance for ever. Those are the alternatives: Prompt surrender or a final sweep-out

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British supremacy in India is, after all, but a passing incident in the history of that great Empire. The curse of our bloodsucking rule will be remembered only as a hideous nightmare when India as an independent country is great and glorious again. The visit of King George V., no matter how thickly it may be overlaid with tinselly grandeur, is, as matters stand to-day, but the proclamation of a miserable failure.

H. M. HYNDMAN.

*) [Our readers are of course aware that this refers to the famous massacre of the French in Sicily in 1282 A.C. Charles of Anjou had conquered Sicily and planned a conquest of the East, making that island the base of his operations. The heavy taxes necessitated by these agressive designs, the abuses of the foreign administration, the outrages committed by the foreign soldiers created deep discontent among the Sicilians who at no time were reconciled to the rule of the alien. A general rising was fomented by Jean de Procida, a partisan of the house of Suabe. But it was an incident created by an insult offered by a young French soldier, to a Sicilian lady that was the immediate occasion of the great national revenge which took place on Easter Monday when the people were at Vespers in the little Church of St. Esprit near Palermo. Commencing at this place on the 31st March, 1282 A. C., the massacre of the foreigners continued throughout the island up to the 28th April. The French, numbering 8000, were all massacred, and Sicily became independent. It may interest our readers to recall the words of Garibaldi who spoke of the Sicilian Vespers as "the greatest act of heroism of a people that the history of the world records"; and the famous passage in Mazzini's letter to Daniel Manin on "The Theory of the Dagger", in which he spoke reverently and approvingly "the sacred stiletto of the Sicilian who began the Vespers". ED. B. M.]

Wake up Hindustan!

The present age is an age of political rebuilding in all parts of the world. It is the harvest time of Freedom. Europe, which has acquired political freedom, longs for economic liberty. Asia, which is a little behindhand in the race, is fighting for political emancipation. Despotism, national or foreign, is in its death-throes everywhere. We trace the influence of liberal ideals even in remote places. Thus the Philipines are clamouring for the evacuation of their country by the Americans. The patriots of that country are divided into different parties that vie with one another in pressing the claims of their people on the attention of the world. Thus there are Nationalists and Extremists and also "Immediatists," the last named being the most enthusiastic, as their designation implies. Even Monaco has obtained its constitution in these days. Then news comes from China that the assembly demands the curtailment of the period of seven years, which was agreed upon ast the interval of preparation before complete constitutional government can be established. And now we learn that Abyssinia in the heart of the Dark Continent, has established some kind of responsible government. Thus it is the period of political fêtes everywhere. If this wave of progressive feeling does not exhibit itself in its full strength in India at present moment, we shall find it very difficult to make up for lost time afterwards. Now is the auspicious moment, now is the spring-time of political revival. March with the world, my comrades. Time and tide wait for no man. Put forth all your strength at this critical moment. Lo! the whole of Asia is rejoicing in the consciousness of newborn power. Shall India alone be the outcast, when all sister-nations are coming by their own? Young men of India who are so energetic in the pursuit of your selfinterest, why cannot you employ that energy for the furtherance of the emancipation of your country? History does not offer such opportunities again and again. The competition of Germany is cutting the ground from under the feet of your enemy. The neighbouring Musalman world gives you an object lesson and an asylum at the same time. You have brains, you have physical capacity. Let the fire of idealism, which lies hidden in your hearts, be kindled to white-heat now. Your fathers taught that a life of simplicity and renunciation is the highest good. Why should you hanker after worldly rank and power and luxury which ruin both body and mind? You are toiling at English universities and in American industrial schools in order to gratify your sense-appetites all your life by earning money. Are the pleasures of the palate and the deceitful shows of wordly glory so dear to you? Lo! the great world is breaking forth into buds and blossoms of a thousand hues, whose beauty spreads over the face of the land throughout the East. Will you leave your country bare and desolate in this universal rebirth? See how all Asia is stirring with the first breath of freedom. Let not India lag behind. Only one thing is needful. and that is this: Do not dream of lovely mansions and huge bank-accounts and gilded coaches and sweet delights for your self and wives and children. Rise above the sense-world which is the enemy of man everywhere. Read your ancient books and model your actions according to the ideals laid down there. Come my comrades, we shall not sleep while all Asia is awake. Lo! I call you to work with an old beautiful song:

"Rise up my love, my fair one, and come away,
For lo! the winter is past, the rain is over and gone;
The flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of the birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land.
The fig-tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grape give a good smell.
Arise, my love my fair one and come away."

A new function of government officials.

Some officials have recently thought it wise to appear in the new and highly becoming role of lecturers on political economy. Such interest in that "dismal science" has been stimulated as a result of the progress of the national movement. George Clarke, "Governor" of Bombay who has no doubt studied the problems of political economy with great assiduity, has been haranguing the students of the Fergusson College, Poona, on the economic aspects of the relations between England and India. We are much gratified to find that even the great gods have descended into the arena of vulgar controversy in the interests of the "loyal" propaganda. When governors defend the Empire with such frail weapons as speeches on the Drain Theory, surely there must be some thing rotten in the state of that Empire, We may now say that India is to be held, not by the sword, but by dissertations on political economy, refuting the «Drain Theory", which has been made popular even by such timid moderates as Mr. Naoroji and Mr. Gokhale. Anyhow, we think that George Clarke's speech demonstrates the success of our propaganda among young men, for the government has come to the conclusion that one of the most potent instruments in the hands of the revolutionary is the idea that India is being gradually impoverished under British rule on account of the transfer of vast amounts of wealth from India to England. This fact was refered to by our great hero martyr, Dhingra, in his ever memorable declaration from the dock. The government of India has found out that this truth is very dangerous for its stability. Hence a crusade of preaching is to be waged against it.

We often reflect that ihe moderate friends of the government will now find it very difficult to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, as they wish to do at present. They want to pose as the exponents of popular grievances on one side and the interpreters of the benefits of British rule on the other. Now that the government has put their favourite doctrine under a ban, what policy are they going to pursue? Will they omit it from their

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Congress resolutions? Will they unsay what they have been preaching from o hundred platforms for twenty-five years in India and in England? How far will they go in their desire to stand well with the powers that be?

Apart from this question, we have to consider the validity of George Clarke's contentions. He lays down that there is no drain, that India only pays a moderate rate of interest on capital borrowed for her "development". All countries borrow English capital and pay interest on it. India is in no anomalous situation.

Now George Clarke has failed to refer to the salaries and pensions of officials, which General Gordon characterised as absurdly excessive a long time ago. And since then the Exchange Compensation allowance has been added to these salaries. All this money is gained by England. Does it represent the beer and brandy-smelling, blustering, rapacious and altogether undesirable human capital lent to India by England as the result of various Civil Service examinations? On what other capital is this interest paid? George Clarke's definition of capital and his notions of borrowing and lending must be very strange and complex, if he believes that his statements can suffice to explain the payment of these salaries and pensions to magistrates, soldiers, officers and other agents of the Government. Is Lord Hardinge part of this "capital?" Is the whole staff of the India Office, including the Lee-Warners, the Arnolds, the Guptas and the whole of the accursed Curzon-Wyllie brood, only so much "capital" lent by England to India? George Clarke can not explain away the existence of these fat, able-bodied, substantial looking people who are enriched by the plunder of the Indian People.

Further, the destruction of Indian manufacturers and the consequent profits made by the British firms on the sale of cottonfabrics in India constitute a phenomenon which George Clarke has neglected in his speech. Why should the Indian people be compelled to send their raw cotton to England and thus pay the British manufacturer a high profit on the goods which they purchase from him? What is the meaning of the great idea that all colonies are good markets for the produce of the mother country? What capital is there in this case on which interest is to be paid?

Again the emptying of the mines and mineral deposits of India by British companies is a channel of exploitation which does not fall under the category of "interest on borrowed capital." The Warora mines have been exhausted as a result of the process. And other mines in Mysore and elsewhere are threatened with a similar fate.

Now we come to the question of the "borrowed capital." In the first place who borrows this capital, with which railways, canals and sewage systems are made? Surely not the people of India. It is the British government that gets money from British financiers in order to construct public works *for the consolidation of its dominion.* The railway system is only a means of assuring the military supremacy of the rulers and facilitating the economic exploitation of the whole country by opening it to traffic. Thus the people of India have neither borrowed any capital nor do they derive any profit from the use made of it. The interest which is paid by the government is taken out of the revenues derived from the taxation of the people. Thus every such loan adds to the security of the government and the burdens of peasantry; who are to pay not only for being governed but also for perpetuating their slavery by means of public works constructed by the ruler with this "borrowed" capital.

Thus the drain, which consists of these and other items, goes on increasing by leaps and bounds from decade to decade. The "capital" lent by England for the promotion of agriculture under the system of cooperative credit societies is the latest addition to this growing burden.

We warn our readers against such specious sophistries. We are much amused at the spectacle of governors speaking on political economy as a counterblast to the "seditious propaganda. Is the adoption of such means of persuasion a confession on the part of government that the much-vaunted coercive policy has failed? We wait for a reply.

British Justice?

An elaborate farce.

The price of an Indian's life.

The "Times" of London gives prominence to the following incident. "Walter Herbert Price a mining foreman, aged 22 was charged with culpable homicide, it being alleged that he kicked a native servant, who died in three quarters of an hour. The local magistrate found him guilty of simple hurt and fined him £ 1-6-0. The Central Provinces Government appealed to the Bombay High Court against this decision, and the High Court has now increased the sentence to nine months rigorous imprisonment with a further three months if the prisoner fails to pay a fine of £ 3-6-0. These were the highest penalties prescribed by the section under which the case was brought."

Such are the facts reported by the "Times"! We cannot be accused of distorting them. Now the whole story shows British Justice at work in India. The "Times" is evidently proud of the impartiality and fairness exhibited by the Bombay High Court. But even after the farce of John Bull at Nagpur appealing against John Bull, the culprit, to John Bull at Bombay has been gone through, the upshot is that a white man who has killed an Indian and who has been prosecuted for culpable homicide is imprisoned for nine months and pays a fine of fifty rupees. This conclusion is reached after all the machinery of the law has been set in motion. This, then, is the relative value of white and dark men's lives in India!

Let us note first that the race-prejudice displayed by the local magistrate, who fined the culprit Rs 20, was calculated to lower the prestige of the government and give a handle to the revolutionary party against it. The Government being anxious to conciliate public opinion in these days, the elaborate scheme of an appeal by the C. P. executive against the decision of the magistrate was devised. And the Bombay judges enhanced the punishment in order to exhibit before the eyes of admiring India a triumphant vindication of British justice. We do hope that Indian public opinion has been duly impressed with this extraordinary outburst of love of justice in high quarters.

But after all the object may not be gained, for the Indians see that an Englisman who has killed an Indian is imprisoned for nine months and pays a fine of Rs 50. This is the plain logic of the case. The "Times", obviously feeling the inadequacy of the punishment adds that the sentence was the severest that could be pronounced under which the case was brought. There is the rub. The whole essence of farce lies in prosecuting Englishmen, who murder Indians, under comparatively harmless sections of the Penal Code like those bearing on simple hurt, wilful injury &c and not under those dealing with murder or homicide. We believe that if an Englishman were prosecuted for murder and if the judge convicted him he would be hanged like other men. But the remarkable phenomenon in such cases seems to be that the culprit is never convicted under the sections on murder or homicide, but is always held guilty of some lighter offence, as in the present instance. Hence the very accurate remark of the "Times" emphasises the exact nature of such judicial mummery instead of bringing out the impartiality of the judges. Surely if a person is found guilty of simple hurt, no judge can inflict a harsh sentence on him. But the question arises at an earlier stage of the trial. "Why should a European be always found guilty of simple or grievous hurt after he has killed an Indian?"

That is the wonderful sociological phenomenon which has to be explained.

There are many ways of carrying out imperial ideas of justice in British colonies. And the procedure followed by the English rulers of India seems to serve its purpose as well as any other.

We should also note that the existence of the revolutionary party is the real reason for the action of the C. P. Government in urging an enhancement of the sentence. Before the days of the bomb and the pistol, such Englishmen always got off with a fine of Rs. 20.

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The local magistrate was simply acting according to the traditions of the Service.

Such glaring outrages on elementary principles of justice are possible only in a country where the people are not animated with a keen love of justice. It is only a just man that can feel truly indignant against injustice. It is only a righteous man that can rise against wrong-doing. It is only a duty-loving people that can overthrow a wasteful and inefficient government. For every government exists on account of the passive aquiescence or the active cooperation of the people. The unjust and rapacious government of India can continue unchecked in its career of tyranny because the people themselves do not possess a keen sense of justice or duty. For a revolution breaks out only when a form of government becomes incompatible with the habits and ideas of the people that live under it. A despotic government can flourish only among a slavish race. An inefficient government can exist only among an easygoing people. Hence we conclude that India tolerates such flagrant violation of all principles of justice, because her soul does not feel the enormity of the outrage as keenly as other free nations would. And this comparative torpor of moral sensibility is due to the lack of those qualities that form the forces of all revolutions viz, love of justice, fraternal sympathy, regard for principle. Whatever evil you see in the government of a country, try to find out the corresponding defect in the character of the people, which makes that evil possible. Thus we shall realise that we are the architects of our own destiny and that we can crush the entire fabric of tyranny into atoms tomorrow if we *will* it with our whole heart and soul.

A well-timed Bribe.

The heart of the organism.

The Government of India like all tyrants, knows the utility of well-timed bribes for securing the cooperation of unprincipled persons. The ally of the Indian bureaucracy is the Indian Police, for whose benefit the Indian Penal Code was prepared. The police is the foundation of the whole structure. For it is only with its help that the government can enforce obedience to its laws and ordinances. Hence the Government is very anxious to secure the goodwill of their police employés in India, for it feels that the edifice of its rule is tottering to its fall. It is by an unerring instinct that our Bengali comrades have picked out the police for their reprisals against the bureaucracy. They have chosen wisely and well, for the police is the very backbone of the administration. What are the Revenue and Military and Educational and other departments without the police? The police is more important than the army from one standpoint, for the army can conquer but can not administer or exploit a country. The police is indispensable for the latter purpose. It is for this reason that the Governor of Bombay has announced an increase in the pay of the police force and has also expressed his admiration of its work in his speech at Poona. He said "The wave of sedition which has affected India has not spared this Presidency.... Government warmly appreciate the work of the police, whose loyalty in trying circumstances they have every reason to trust. Progress in police reorganisation has been made and I am very glad that it has been possible materially to improve the pay of the force, which had become inadequate to the work and its responsibilities. The results have been satisfactory. Recruits have freely come in, and I trust that general contentment now exists in the ranks. I do not think I need tell you that I take a special interest in the police force of the Presidency and that I am most anxious to further its interests as far as possible."

Thus all Nationalists can see that Government is petting and caressing its useful friend the police. We should reply to this policy by making the position of the police force in India as uncomfortable as possible. Social ostracism, personal harshness and even severer practical measures for special cases may be employed in order to gain our object. Demoralise terrorise and disorganise the police. That is the kind of substantial work that can be done in every village and town where the Nationalist party counts many adherents. Take vengeance on the police. The Government is too distant, abstract and complex a thing for the peasant to hit. But the hated policeman who coerces him to pay the taxes, who levies blackmail on him and who represents in his person the iniquity and rapacity of the British Government, is a very visible, concrete and substantial personality, on whom the simple villager can wreak the wrath that garners in his heart. Hate the police, attack it undermine it, frighten it, pursue it with unrelenting zeal. Thus the "general contentment" which, in George Clarke's words, "prevails in the ranks" will soon be changed into consternation and bewilderment. Our Bengali comrades have already been pioneers in this work. Let their example be followed by all India.

Deshbhakta Savarkar.

The following is a translation of an article that appeared in *l'Humanité* of December 25th. relative to the brazen impudence of the British enemy in sentencing our comrade to "transportation for life".

A PROVOCATION.

Savarkar sentenced to transportation for life.

What about the Hague Tribunal?

"The following telegram has been received through the Havas Agency: —

Bombay. Dec. 24. "Judgment was delivered today in the Nasik case. Eight accused were declared innocent. Twenty-six others were found guilty, including Savarkar who was sentenced to transportation for life together with confiscation of his property. The other accused were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from fifteen years to six months.

After judgment was delivered, the Attorney-General raised against Savarkar the charge of abetment of murder. This question will be investigated after the Christmas vacation.

One wonders what advantage the English Government and the mighty bureaucracy of India expect to derive from this absurd judicial proceeding which is rendered essentially null and void by the approaching investigation of Savarkar's case by a tribunal pre-eminently supreme — the Court of Arbitration of the Hague.

Can it indeed be that the English Judges at Bombay deemed it useful to their prestige to expose themselves to the positively certain overriding of their decisions by a Superior tribunal? For they could hardly have conceived the ridiculous idea of confronting the International arbiters with a "settled fact" which would not have the remotest effect upon their judgment.

The question that the judges at the Hague will have to decide is whether it was in accordance with international law that Savarkar, a political refugee, was arrested on French soil by the English authorities. On this point there appears to be no doubt as to their answer, that is to say, that the transactions a Bombay have no more importance than that of a simple judicial comedy".

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Mohammad Ferid Bey in Prison.

A Timely Lesson to Egyptian Nationalists.

Just as we go to press, we learn that Mohammad Ferid Bey, the President of the Egyptian Nationalist Party, has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment for having contributed an introduction to a volume of patriotic poems published last year, among them being eulogies of the hero martyrs Wardani and Dhingra. If this vindictive sentence and the political enactments that led upto it will only open the eyes of the Egyptians to the utter folly of their "constitutional" methods, we are indeed glad that Ferid is in prison. With the history of India staring them in the face in blood-red letters, they will be worse than criminals if they do not raise a hand in time to prevent the impending enslavement and ruin of their country. And yet the whole harrowing tragedy of British rapacity and Oriental treachery, which we have already witnessed in our own country, is now being enacted in Egypt not only with remarkable similarity but with even greater rapidity. Let us only look at the names of the gentlemen connected with Ferid's trial, and we shall see how Egypt has vied with us in producing her own unholy brood of Chandravarkar's and Davar's and Ashutosh Biswass. The whole series of press laws culminating in the drastic Summary Trial Act of last year, under which Ferid was sentenced, were introduced by those two traitor brothers, Fathey Zaglool and Said Zaglool, one of whom besides making this valuable contribution to freedom had also distinguished himself as the judge that perpetrated the horrors of Denshawi. The Chief Prosecutor was Abd el Khalik Tharwat, a knavish and obsequious ally of the alien enemy. And among the three judges of the Special Tribunal, were two Egyptians, and a Maltese who had literally been an itinerant street violinist and jester to Lord and Lady Cromer, and who was raised to the bench in order to carry out the far-reaching policy of the British vultures.

We have frequently appealed in these columns to the young men of Egypt to give up the cant of "constitutionalism" and "neutralisation" with which they have wasted several valuable years and enormous energy. We appeal to them again to band themselves together to drive out the British enemy from their land. It is not to be supposed that Kitchener of Khartoum has gone to winter in Egypt for sport. No, annexation hangs like the sword of Damocles ominously over her head, and it is now but a question of days when another Oriental jewel will be added tho the Imperial crown of Britain.

Swadeshis,

At this time. when our fight for Liberty is becoming more and more severe in our beloved country, I think we ought to study how much other contemporary nations are suffering and sacrificing for it.

The following statistics will therefore be very instructive. They are translated from an article published in the French newspaper, *l'Humanité*, over the signature of Mr. Roubanovitch, a Russian gentleman whose sole interest in life is his country's cause.

After the perusal of these figures let us look at our own people, — how submissively they have accepted Morley's "reforms"; and again at the Egyptians whose silence after the imprisonment of the brave Ferid Bey is outrageous. It is a national insult; they ought to break open the prison doors and bring him out.

Friends, let us learn by heart the great lesson that Liberty is the most expensive article in the world. Its price is suffering, sacrifice and life blood.

BANDÉ MATARAM.
Bhikhaiji Rustom Cama

In Russia.

Five years of the Constitution.

How the government of the Tsar has attempted "pacification"

At a time when in Russia, the struggle against reaction seems to be awakening into new life and to assume new forms of which it is still difficult to define the precise nature, the Russian press has published statistics of what it has cost the nation during this "Constitutional" period of five years, from October 1905, the date of the famous "liberal" manifesto of the Tsar, right down to our own day.

This statistical table is extremely instructive. During the last five

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years, 1270 journals have been suppressed; 124 in the wake of a single prosecution, and 1046 by simple administrative order.

The pogroms, organised by the authorities ruined nearly 2140000 Jewish proletarian families; 1250 Jews were killed and more than a million Jewish workmen were compelled to go into exile.

The military expeditions, called "repressive" killed nearly 26000 persons in the space of a few months.

The military tribunals sentenced 37620 persons for political "crimes", and for the same crimes 120,000 persons were imprisoned by simple administrative order.

Whereas the average population of the Russian prisons before 1905 was about 85000, the number has risen rapidly during the last five years; 111403 in 1906, 138500 in 1907, 166064 in 1908, 181241 in 1909; and 210000 in 1910.

Whereas in the whole period of 80 years, from the revolt of the "decembrists" in 1825 to the constitutional manifesto of the Tsar Nicolas II, the number of those condemned to death was 525, of whom 192 were executed; during the last five years, the tribunals sentenced for political crimes 5735 persons of whom 3015 were executed.

Has the Russian government attained the object it has pursued viz, "pacificatlon", which is the ground on which it has sought to justify its massacres without precedent even in the annals of Russian tsarism?

The events of the last few days give us an answer to this question.

On the occasion of the tragic death of Sazonof and the monstrous treatment meted out to the prisoners of Vologda, more than 28000 Russian students declared a strike and assembled in meetings, defying the *nogaika* and sabres of the cossacks and the soldiers.

The workmen in the larger manufactories still remain unaffected, but in more than a hundred places in the provinces the signal has been given for "economic" strikes, accompanied by demands of which one can not fail to observe the political character. In numberless country places there is taking place a secret fermentation, resulting from the violent introduction of "reforms" destined to break up the *mir*. Meanwhile the parliamentary "cadets" and "octobrists", in the course of outspoken interviews have not been afraid to declare that the Duma was a fraud, and at last the Russian press, groaning under the embraces of the "pacifiers" declares that it can not thus continue its existence.

Our readers will permit us to refrain from all comment.

E. ROUBANOVITCH.

Indian Students in England.

We advised our young men in a recent issue to give up the slavish habit of preferring England to other European countries for the completion of their academic or professional studies. We believe our advice will fall on good soil. But we find that Indian students in England, like the depressed classes in India, continue to be the objects of much paternal and fraternal solicitude on the part of the government and its supporters. The new Viceroy referred to them at length in his speech, and efforts are being made to enmesh them from all sides in the net that has been spread for them by the India Office in the last few months. We read in the "Tribune" of Lahore that "Indian students have not been slow to avail themselves of the assistance given by the Educational advisers. From the mail reports we find that out of 150 Indian students, who arrived in London during the last three weeks of September, no less than 118 had already found their way to the house at South Kensington rented by the Secretary of State as the headquarters of the Educational advisers of Indian students". This news may be correct or false, but we warn all our compatriots in the most solemn manner against the wiles and tricks of the retired Anglo-Indian officials who form the bulk of these "friends" of Indian students in England.

Our advice to all Indians resident in London is that they should never under any circumstances see Anglo Indians. That should be an absolute rule. The moment that you know that an Englishman has been in India in any capacity official or other, you should at once dicontinue all social intercourse with him. Don't go to dine with him, even if he should invite you a hundred times. Don't attend any tea-parties given by him or his wife for the amusement of Indian students. Have nothing to do with him. Avoid him like an enemy, like an outcast. There are many strong reasons for adopting such a course. These Anglo-Indians are men who have had a direct share in plundering and enslaving your people. Although the entire British nation is responsible for the tyranny that is grinding down our fair country, it is these cruel and avaricious fiends in human garb that have been the instruments for the execution of the will of their nation. They are the immediate cause of our impoverishment and bondage. They are the standing symbols of imperialism, its slaves and servants, its carpetbaggers and hangmen, its cut-throats and ruffians. They are your enemies standing before you within a stone's throw of you. Every Anglo-Indian has been a magistrate or governor in India. He has plundered our peasants, rewarded our traitors, and planned for the demoralisation and destruction of our society, He has fattened on the price of his infamy, paid out of our pockets. He belongs to the class of Clive, the master robber, who came first and Dalhousie and Canning, who hanged Tatiya, and Hodson, who shot the Princes of Delhi in cold blood, and Rand and Ayerst, who were laid low by our heroes the Chapekar brothers in Poona, and Curzon Wyllie and Baker and Curzon and Davar and Penhey, who transported Chidambaram, and Swinhoe and Jackson, who received the punishment due to his misdeeds. This class of men is unfit for human intercourse. They should be hounded and hissed out of all respectable society. But above all it is the duty of Indian students to express in their daily life their deep abhorrence of this dastardly race of Anglo-Indians, whose lives are spent in the service of the Devil and whose hands are red with the blood of their fellow-men. Vile agents of tyranny, deluded by race pride and personal greed, forgetful of the transient nature of all earthly glory and the nemesis that waits all wrong-doing, they strut about in their sin and blindness, as if they were the very gods on earth. They have escaped the fate of Jackson, and then they return to England and invite the compatriots of Kanhere and the brethren of Ganesh Savarkar to tea for friendly intercourse. When an Anglo-Indian asks you to see him, my comrades, what should you therefore do? Should you consider it an honour to go to him? Should you chuckle in ill-concealed vanity that an ex-lieutenant-governor or a Member of Council has graciously condescended to favour you with an invitation? Should you look upon it as an opportunity for bettering your future worldly prospects? No. You should reflect in your mind thus: "O thou full of all cunning and baseness, I know who thou art and why thou offerest me this hospitality. Thou art the kinsman and fellow-worker of Clive and Curzon and Curzon-Wylie. Thou smellest of blood, thy hands are polluted with the blood of hundreds of peasants whom thy exorbitant salary has condemned to starvation. Thy stay in India has killed our men and women and children. With their tears thou hast mixed the mortar of this lovely house where thou askest me to come, and with their blood thou hast cemented it. No. I will not come. Remember; yes, that so long as the blood of these thousands who have fallen in battle or in famine or in pestilence as the victims of British Raj ever since the days when the first Englishman landed in India, so long as their blood is unavenged, so long as their voices cry from the grave for justice and revenge, so long as our dead have not settled their quarrels with thy dead, who killed them, so long indeed there flows a river of blood between thee and me which I can not cross. Shall I come to thy blood-stained-house and see the smile of thy wife and children and shall I not weep at thinking of the poor wives and children of my countrymen who are even now, even at this moment, toiling and moiling in poverty and misery to provide thee with the pension, which enables thee and thy children to live in luxury and happiness. No, thy tea is to me the blood of my people, thy wife's smile is gall and wormwood to my eyes, thy house is the Mansion of Blood for me. When the Feringhi blood has watered the plains of Hindustan under the sharp swords of India's children, then shall I extend the hand of fellowship to thee, like two enemies who are reconciled after a duel. Before that time, thy bread is to me the flesh of my people and may my eyes lose their light before I see it; may my tongue be cut out before I taste of it. Go thy way, thou Minister of Satan, tempt me not. Fate has thrown me in thy country for a time, but I will not contaminate myself with thy company. Keep thy invitation for those mean Indians who traffic in the tears and groans of their contrymen, for the compatriots of Meer Jaffir and Gossain and Davar. As for me I am from the stock of Tilak, Kanhere, and Kanai, and if I can not meet thee as an enemy, I shall not meet thee at all. That is the rule of our tradition. which I can not break".

Again, these Anglo-Indians are not only the actual bloodsuckers and despoilers of our country, but they are also all spies. That is another reason for avoiding their company. Just consider for a moment why they should take the trouble of seeking your company?

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What relation is there between you and them? They are not your kinsmen or friends or compatriots, and they are not highsouled philanthropists or proselytising saints. Then why do they run after you? Clearly because they are the spies of Government. There is no other explanation. They want to know every thing about your views and ideas and habits and actions. They desire to keep a record of all your words and doings, in order that it my be used against you on your return to India. They are all in league with the Government. Then why should you run such a risk by mixing with them? What reasonable man will fall into such a snare? Spies are always to be avoided, Indian or English. They are false friends and dangerous companions. No prudent man should have anything to do with them. How foolish it would be on your part to run into the lion's mouth by exposing yourself to their villainy! Spies are the worst patrons and friends that a man can find. All Indian students in England should therefore be on their guard against these spies, who bear great names and high-sounding titles, but who are just as mean and despicable as any poor devil of a detective, who serves the Indian police. Beware of spies, we repeat. The Anglo-Indians are all spies of the most dangerous type, well-educated, crafty, polite, and patient. A young man who mixes with them will ruin his career, for every thing about him will be put down in the Government's books through the agencies or these Anglo-Indian spies. No students should bring himself into undesirable prominence by courting their friendship or responding to their advances. He will have to pay dearly for it in the end.

Again, these Educational Advisers wish to become guardians of the students during their stay in England. They establish communication with their parents in India and try to report all their doings to their people at home. We know instances of students whose parents send their monthly allowance to them trough these Anglo-Indian Officials. Thus the students are reduced to the position of mere children under the tutelage of these officials who can send malicious reports about them to their parents if they like. And how humiliating it is for a grown-up person to receive his money through a guardian, as if he were unfit to take care of himself! Indian students in England should jealously guard their freedom against this instrusion of Anglo-Indian patronage, especially because these officials mislead our parents at home and obtain influence over them on account of their position. Some parents are so foolish as to believe in their good intentions and entrust their boys to their care. It is as if the sheep were to give the lamb incharge of the wolf! We know the miserable condition of those students who receive their money from home trough these guardians. They are simply slaves and nothing more. They cannot move a step without the permission of their guardian. Every thing they do is subject to control aud censure. How painful it must be for young men, who love freedom and possess a keen sense of selfrespect! Now these boys brought their misfortunes on themselves by mixing with Anglo-Indians. They met some oficials, and wrote about them to their parents. In course of time, the parents entered into communication with those officials, who were first mentioned by the students in their letters home. In the end, the young persons found, to their infinite sorrow, that the parents had put them under the control of these officials by sending their monthly allowance through them! Thus did vanity and folly end in slavery! Why should students run such a risk at all? Have nothing to do with Anglo-Indians. Pursue your studies quietly and unostentatiously. And don 't meddle with the Anglo-Indians. Repel their advances, if they wish to cultivate your friendship. Such unequal friendships always end in disaster for the weaker party, as the earthen-pot found out in its journey on the water in company with the metal-pitcher.

Finally you should shun Anglo-Indians because you will be tempted to tell lies and practise hypocrisy in their presence. If they introduce political subjects in the course of conversation, you will feel awkward and the chances are that you will dissimulate your convictions to avoid subsequent persecution at the hands of the government. For these Anglo-Indians are spies, as you know full well. If they ask you your opinion of Tilak or Aravindo Ghose, what reply will you give? You will be on the horns of a dilemma. If you praise them and express your real sentiments, you will be reported to India Office as a seditious person, and your future career wil be ruined. If you vilily them and condemn their ideas, you will be lowered in your own eyes as a liar and you will feel the stings of conscience in your inmost soul. Now why should a young man expose himself to the necessity of undergoing such a trial at all? The safest course is to avoid the society of all Anglo-Indians. Thus you will never be obliged to talk to them on politics or any other subject whatever. As a proverb has it, "It is better to refrain from going near a bog than to wash oneself after being caught in it."

We have therefore supported our advice to Indian Students in England with cogent reasoning. We have advanced moral patriotic and utilitarian considerations, which should lead our students to eschew the company of Anglo-Indians like poison. We warn our compatriots against this danger which is assuming formidable proportions at present. All prudent and patriotic Indians who find themselves in England should make a rule of boycotting Anglo-Indians. Thus they will escape the pitfalls and snares which surround them on every side on account of the activity of these rogues, who are parasites, hypocrites and detectives all in one. Let Indian students support one another in this attitude of indifference and contempt towards these enemies of India. Organise yourselves, all Indian students in England, and teach one another the great formula of wisdom and safety: "Beware of all Anglo-Indians".

Tolstoi, the Sage of Yasna Polyana.

The whole world mourns the death of the great saint and sage of Yasnia Polyana, whose life was a model of simplicity and humility in the midst of a world that does not believe in these virtues. His ideas may not be accepted by all without serious reservations and qualifications. But one aspect of his teaching coincides with our principles so remarkably that we must quote his authority in their support.

Tolstoi taught the profound doctrine of voluntary dissociation from evil. Evil exists in the world partly because men are its agents and instruments. The complicity of men in works of evil is the most lamentable feature of the state of the world. If men refuse to take part in evil-doing, much human suffering would be abolished. Tolstoi traces to their root the misery, and shame and hunger and nakedness that exist in the world. And the fact stares us in the face, that man is the wolf of man. Hence let every one try to dissociate himself from evil as far as possible. In his essay on „The Russian Revolution", Tolstoi refers particularly to subject races like the Poles, Czechs, the Hindus and others, and declares that if these people were determined not to assist injustice and tyranny in any way, then all the tyrants of the world put together could not oppress them. He thus prescribes a remedy for the evils of foreign rule. He exhorted the Russian soldiers to desert the army on the occasion the Russo-Japanese war.

This fundamental truth is in danger of being forgotten in this age. *Every man is individually responsible for all the evil that the does not prevent.* For every one is his brother's keeper. Hence the responsibility for the horrors of Indian famines and Russian pogroms, and Macedonian massacres and the Congo atrocities, and the Negro lynchings and other phenomena rests on every man and woman of mature age that breathes. This principle is a logical deduction from the truths of the vanity of mankind and the origin of evil in man's own nature.!

Now let us apply this doctrine to India. What is the support of British rule in India? Who oppressed India? Who are responsible for the suffering and degradation of these people? Many people will readily answer that it is the Anglo-Indians. But let us consider that such a vast and portentous effect can not be produced by such a small cause. Then we go further and say that it is the entire British nation. Even this answer is incorrect. Some persons see that we must include the Indians who serve the government. But these three classes by themselves cannot produce all the evils of British rule. A fourth party is added, and that is composed of those Indians who do not do their utmost to resist this evil. Thus we arrive at the conclusion that British rule in India is due to the combined actions of the Anglo-Indians and the British nation and the loyal party and the indifferent in India. But there is one other factor and that is that section of humanity which does not prevent England from oppressing us or does not help India to shake off her yoke. For it is as much the duty of the world to help India to be free as it is her own duty to attempt to attain this end. Thus there are five criminals in the case to be accused before the tribunal of humanity, of active and passive complicity in that hideous outrage on a weak nation's honour and happiness.

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And we leave out of account for the moment four parties out of the five that we have just enumerated, because we do not hope to change the hearts of the Anglo-Indians or the British people or the world in general in a short space of time, and we have often addressed our advice and exhortations to the loyal agents who serve the government and share in the plunder. On this occasion, we wish to consider the moral responsibility of those Indians who do not do *their utmost* to put an end to British tyranny.

Now there are two classes in this section of the population. There are those Indians who never help the revolutionnairy movement, who live their life of selfish and monotonous domesticity and think that they are not culpable like the government servants. This class is blind and stupid. But there are Indians who see the magnitude of the evil who realise the entire significance of the gruesome tragedy, who repeat the formulae of liberty and patriotism, who talk of the groans of the famine-stricken and the wails of the downtrodden peasants, who write and speak of the dying race and the colonisation of the country and sad fate that is in store for our children, but who hug their silver, and love their repose, and believe that they have done their duty when they have helped the cause with a few rupees or given a little time to the propaganda. To this class belong the vast majority of our graduates and undergraduates, who imagine that they are carrying on the struggle against the tyrants and congratulate themselves on their patriotism. But are they really free from blame? Has an Indian of this type done his duty when he has made the scanty sacrifices of time or money that satisfy our puny souls? No, a thousand times no. He will not be absolved from guilt, because he sees the evil and does something to remedy it; on the contrary he will be condemned all the more severely because he has knowledge and keeps back any thing for himself.

There lived a farmer and his two sons in a house. And one night one of the sons was suddenly taken ill with a dangerous disease. His father and brother were asleep, but the farmer woke up. When he knew that his son was ill, he at once ran to the doctor, and brought him to the house. The physician advised the use of certain drugs, but the sick was no better the next day. It was necessary to call a great doctor and spend much money. But the father grudged the expense and did not go to the great physician. At last he was persuaded by friends to consult the great doctor, and pay his fee. But the great doctor said that if a certain drug that grew in Himalaya could be brought, the patient would recover But the father thought that he had done more than his duty in incurring all this expenditure and sacrificing his repose and tranquillity, and did not wish to pay for this Himalayan drug. The result was that the son died.

Now, who is reponsible for the death of this child? Is it the brother who was asleep? or is it the father who knew everything but did not wish to make the necessary sacrifices? Can the father say that he deserves the praise for all the money that he spent or shall we not hate and despise him for the money that he did not spend to save his son's life?

But, says some one, it is a father's duty to save his son's life at any cost, but we are not bound to free our country in the same way. What we do is sufficient, for in a father's case the obligation is natural but in our case it depends on our sweet will. The father is responsible for the death of the child because he ought to have spent all rather than see his child die, but we have no such duty. We have such a duty towards our sons and daughters, but not towards our people or others in the world. So what we can spare from our needs and our bank-account, we give for the good cause, and we deserve praise for it, for we do something while there are people that do nothing.

But I ask," Who taught you that a father ought to save his child at the cost of his fortune? How do you take that for granted? The guilty father says that he owes no duty to the child, and that even the little money that he spent was a gift and a work of charity. Do you think, you healthy energetic young men who dream of money and comfort day and night, that you owe a duty to your ugly, brutish, puling, puking, children, who will grow up to be just the same brutes as their parents, but that you owe no such duty to the millions of other children that are starving and crying in distress? What are you three or four or ten children in comparison with the entire population of India? And you will lavish your money and toil like slaves to buy toys and dresses for your dirty children, and will lay up wealth for their comfort and luxury, while you grudge to open you purse-strings or disturb your repose for the freedom of your country? Just as a father who spares any effort or sacrifice when his child is mortally ill is a homicide, even so a man who sees misery and suffering but shrinks from sacrificing his all is an accomplice in the guilt. Your fellow creatures have a claim not on a tenth or a fourth or one-half of your money and energy, but on the whole of it".

Hence a man who sees a child dying of hunger in the street and leaves him there, is guilty of murder, for his succour would have saved a life. In the same manner every Indian who knows about the situation in his country and realises the enormity of the evil but grudges the sacrifice of his entire energy and belongings is an ally of the enemy. India says:" All that is yours, is mine. Keep back nothing. If you do not do your best, you help in ruining me".

And thus every one of us goes to sleep every evening with the burden of all this sin on his head. Instead of flattering ourselves that we are good patriots because we make some little sacrifice we should think of our selfishness and weakness that prevents us from doing our duty fully by sacrificing everything we have, money and houses, wife and children, time and talent, for the cause. Let us meditate on the true principle of the responsibility of each for all, and realise that every one who does not strive with all his might against evil is an abettor of evil. Let us therefore try to diminish this burden of sin that crushes us. And we can best lighten it by offering more and more of our time and energy for the service of the people. No man will ever be able to say that he has no part in evil, but many can bring themselves to that state in which the partnership with evil is reduced to a minimum. Let us learn above all, that sacriffce is not an act of benevolence but a duty, and that we steal whatever we keep back from the service of society. Let us think of the father who killed his son, and say to ourselves, each one of us "I am the murderer of the little ones that die of famine and plague in my land. I am the ally of the tyrants in their hateful work. I am a fratricide and a sinner. How can I get rid of this heavy load of guilt that crushes me? I can do it by throwing myself heart and soul into the fight against tyranny, for certainly he who does not give his all for Good aids Evil to that extent".

The Insurance Companies.

The government of India proposes to pass a new law about insurance companies in India. It is expressly stated that the representations of the Scottish Life Insurance Companies has led the Government to undertake this measure. The motive is obvious. Indian enterprise has been specially successful in the direction of life-insurance during the past 30 years. Various Indian firms have been carrying on a prosperous business for a long time. It is with the object of eliminating this competition that the Scottish Companies have pressed the government of India to handicap the Indian capitalists by restrictive measures. This project will make it clear to all thinking persons that British rule in India is hostile to and incompatible with economic development of any kind. The aim of Great Britan is to exploit India by all means in her power. Taxes, railways, public loans, cooperative credit societies, the whole machinery of plunder has been working for many years with success. And now even the small crumbs are to be snatched from the mouth of the humble servitors. The field of life insurance being occupied by Indians, they must be driven from it by crippling legislation. Let no one hope that India can make any progress in any direction so long as the present government presides over her distinies. There is no better fate in store for the Indians than that of hewers of wood and drawers of water under the present régime. No one can escape the meshes of the net of this malevolent vigilant bureaucracy. Those who think that they can outwit it by attempting the economic, moral or intellectual regeneration of the people by some methods to which the government will not object, only deceive themselves and lose precious time in the campaign. The British Government must be destroyed root and branch, or the people will perish. Make your choice, ye sons and daughters of India, who have eyes to see and ears to hear.

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THE BANDE MATARAM

Monthly Organ of Indian Independence

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves
Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.
(*Gautama Buddha*).

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VINAYAK DAMODAR SAVARKAR.

BRAVE AND NOBLE DESHBHAKTA.

You have been kidnapped from the free shores of France, through the usual treachery of our enemies the English; and others may follow you. *The messenger can be destroyed, but not the message*, and the foaming furious tide, which has commenced will never stop. Those who are riding on its waves are bound to reach the Independance of Hind; while the traitors and tyrants, who are going against the current, will be wiped off from the face of the earth. The Hindis are saying with one voice all over the world that you go to glory, and not to a living tomb; that you are a born patriot, and *now you have won a martyr's crown.*

Your sweet and smiling but yet determined face is constantly before all eyes; your name has been written in blood on all hearts along with those ot Hem Chandra Das, Ulaskar Dutt and others.

They were precious gems for the cause, but Savarkar you were above them all, Your marvellous activity; ceaseless energy, and flawless sincerety worked like magic, and brought thousands in our camp! You are the man who made Hindusthan's name resound from shore to shore, as your escape at Marseilles was plucky and legitimate; though *The Honourable International Tribune* has decided otherwise. May they grovel in their shame; and may our compatriots learn the eternal truth that it is futile to expect Justice anywhere; till they establish their position as a free and powerful nation; and to that end, all of them must work with double energy and vigour! No true-born daughter of Hind should shed tears, and go into hysterics over your loss! No true-born fruit of her womb should become cowardly, and leave his post! No! because that would not be a befitting ovation to you brave Savarkar! My son, may your sacrifice and suffering bring out many a hero and heroine in Hind; and let there be no moaning of the bar when Savarkar you go on the sea; but such a thundering salute that the echo be heard miles round, to awaken the Hindis in the remotest corner of Hindusthan.

Members of Abhinava Bharat and all the Hindi Revolutionists must combine and give you a hearty send-off to your future island-home in the Bay of Bengal; where you commence your noble career of *life prisoner* for the sacred cause of Hind's salvation!

May you all live long; and we shall meet again in free Hindusthan and till then

"No salt tears; but drops of blood" BANDE MATARAM.

BHIKHAIJ RUSTOM CAMA.

A CALL OF DUTY. — We must remind our readers that though this journal is „prohibited" in Hindusthan, a very large number of copies nevertheless find their way into the homes of our contrymen. by whom it is much appreciated. We have frequently pointed out that the importation of all forms of revolutionary literature is a sacred duty incumbent upon every man and woman who is devoted to the cause of our country's independence. And we therefore request our readers to use every possible means that their ingenuity can devise to ensure the succesful smuggling of this and subsequent issues of this journal into our contry.

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Some of the comments of the European press on the Hague Judgment.

Daily News, 25st February 1911:

THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM.

The judgment of the international tribunal at The Hague in the Savarkar case is of a very important and far-reaching character. The only question which the Court was called upon to decide was the following: Ought the young Indian, V. D. Savarkar, who escaped from the P. and O. steamer Morea in Marseilles Harbour, and was recaptured on July 8th last, to be, in conformity with the rules of international law, surrendered by the British Government to the Government of the French Republic? This question has been answered in a twofold judgment, which declares, first, that there was nothing in the facts of the arrest to infringe the sovereignty of France, and secondly, that even if an irregularity was committed by the French authorities at Marseilles there is no rule in international law which would require the British Government to surrender the prisoner. It is stated that the Prefect of Marseilles was made aware of the circumstances in advance, and that his subordinates had received instructions to take precautions against the prisoner's escape. The conclusion, therefore, is that both parties were acting in good faith and with knowledge of the circumstances, and that arguments based upon any alleged irregularity in the conduct of the gendarme by whom Savarkar was handed over to the English detectives are irrelevant to the issue.

Clearly this is a judgment of grave moment, since it reduces the "right of asylum" to exceedingly narrow limits. The right itself in the case of political offenders is of such importance that it ought, the plain man will feel, to be guarded by the very strictest and most clearly defined rules; yet what the Savarkar judgment lays down is that no rule whatever exists in regard to a set of conditions which may arise at any moment in connection with a prisoner of unquestionable standing. To put the matter in its extreme form: a Prince Kropotkin might conceivably be kidnapped bij Russian agents in collusion with English police, and without the knowledge or consent of the British Government, and no rule of international law could be invoked for his restoration. The dicision serves to emphasise the urgent need for the establishment, as supplementary to the arbitration courts at The Hague, of a permanent Court of International Law, from which not negative compromises but positive authoritative judgments could be obtained.

Justice 11th March.

MORE "HONOURS".

"We are officially informed", so runs the statement, "that the King has approved the appointment of Mr. Eyre Crowe, C. B., to be a Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, in recognition of his services as British Agent in connection with the recent Savakar arbitration at the Hague". What next? Surely the part played by the British Government in that shameful business was sufficiently disgraceful without glorying in its shame of showering honours upon those engaged in the ignoble and humiliating business. We shall be having hangmen made Peers next! After all, the hangman, however disgusting his office, is assumed to be performing a necessary public duty in the "taking off" of a criminal; but those responsible for the trapping and deportation of Savakar have been instrumental in sending a high-minded, noble patriot—whose only crime was his expressed detestation of foreign despotism—to a living death. Mr. Crowe may be proud of the part he has played in that nefarious business—there is no accounting for taste—and it is not unusual for criminals. we understand, to brag about and glorify their crimes. When these crimes are committed in the interests of Governments, however, it is not usual to reward them, except with filthy lucre; and, then sometimes the criminal, smitten by remorse, has gone out "and hanged himelf." But our Liberal Government and its creatures are not so squeamish; the former condemns untried men to deportation, torture and death, and confers honours on those who assist to carry out these decrees.

Justice 25th February.

THE SURRENDER OF SAVARKAR.

The decision of the Hague Tribunal in the case of Savarkar seems to us a very serious matter, and we are glad to observe that the "Independance Belge", a journal that cannot be in the least accused of revolutionary tendencies, and represents educated opinion in a neutral State, declares itself strongly against the decision. The Belgian journal points out that there can be no mistake whatever about the gross impropriety of Savarkar's arrest on French soil. It was a purely political case, which could not, even by the most infamous Anglo-Indian unscrupulousness, be brought within the scope of a common-law offence and the French Government had been no official party to Savarkar's re-arrest. It was all a shamefull local muddle. Nevertheless, it was well understood beforehand that M. Briand, the ex-Anarchist and French Prime Minister, backed up by his Minister of the Interior and his Chief of the Police, had decided not to press the French case seriously before the Hague Tribunals. Even so, we understand, there was a minority of the committee which was against allowing Savarkar to remain in British hands. The whole thing has been discreditable to this country beginning with the disgraceful extradition of Savarkar from the jurisdiction of the English Courts, where he would have been sure of some justice and more publicity, to India, where the offence he was charged with was not committed, up to the condemnation of a man for two terms of imprisonment for life while the case for his giving up to France was not yet adjudicated upon. The whole thing only shows that we are in a period of shameless despotism, and that when it comes to a question of honourable dealing with prisoners the British Government stands on precisely the same level as the Russian Government' its cherished ally.

Justice 18 March.

FRANCE.

"L'Humanité" writes that one of the causes of the verdict given by the Hague Court was certainly the strange attitude of some French lawyers and politicians, who were animated by reactionary ideas.

Thus a certain Monsieur Hamelin published an article on the affair, which made a show of being impartial, but was in reality most perfidious, in the columns of the "Tribune des Colonies." This has been sent to our comrade Jean Longuet, who has addressed a reply to the editor of the same paper, in which he regrets that he had not seen it sooner, and that he has no doubt that the author has constituted himself the benevolent assistant of the English Government, and shares the reponsibility for the deplorable judgment so universally condemned bij French opinion and even by the English "Daily News."

"I am surprised," continues Longuet, "at the extreme lightness with which M. Hamalin admits the thesis of the high English bureaucracy in India, according to which the offence of which Savarkar is accused could not be considered as a political offence, in contradiction with the regular jurisprudence of the Anglo-Saxon countries (England and the United States) who are, after all; the most interested parties in the case."

Longuet goes on to ask where M. Hamelin discovered that the Hindu patriots were Anarchists, whose attacks were directed "against the universal basis of all civilised society." He thinks Monsieur Hamelin might have taken the trouble to become a little better informed. "It is true," he goes on to say," that when one hears him express the abominoble opinion that England should, in 1871 (in spite of the touching protests of Victor Hugo and Edgar Quinet), have given up the refugees of the Commune to the fury of the Versailles Assembly, one can no longer be astonished at anything." Longuet further eypresses surprise that the "Tribune des Colonies," which he had always thought an impartial journal, should have accepted such an article. Not to speak of Liberal and democratic considerations, the very anxiety that France should triumph at the Hague might have been sufficient to make the journal refuse this effusion of M. Hamelin.

In a postcript he adds: "I know from hearing it said at the Hague by English agents, that M. Hamelin's pamphlet reached ali the judges of the Arbitration Tribunal, and, to a certain extent, influenced them in their illiberal verdict, although at the beginning it was formally in favour of Savarkar being given over to France."

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The Times, 27-2-1911.

THE SAVARKAR AWARD.

German Press comment. (From our own correspondent).

BERLIN, Feb. 25.

The award in the Savarkar case has been received here for the most part in silence, but moves the Berlin *Post* to a violent attack on The Hague Court and on international arbitration. The journal writes: —

We have never thought much of the Hague Court of Arbitration —that is, of its impartiality and objective love of justice. The representatives of the various nationalities vote, in point of fact, in accordance with the interests, the political views, and the grounds of expediency of their several countries-always excepting our idealist Germans. It is not necessary to suppose that these men act in the face of their better judgment and conscience. To some extent foreign countries have a different, and certainly a much more practical, sense of values in striking a balance as between the interests of their own country and the conception of pure justice as it prevails in general with us. National prejudices and prepossessions determine their judgment trom the outset. Nevertheless, we should hardly have thought it possible that a Court of Arbitration in the Savarkar case would afford an exhibition of such touching *naïveté*, such an exhibition of "pure folly." It has passed over the real issue of the Savarkar case in complete silence —namely, the fact that a political offender, who in a foreign harbour had escaped from the ship which was transporting him and been recaptured by a French policemen with the support of an Englishman in pursuit—and that not in the water, though there already he was on foreign territory, but after he had reached dry land—was forthwith, without even an appearance of formal proceedings, handed back to the English ship. That is a crass breach of international law, and a proof how far the subservience to England (*Die englische Gefolgschaft*) has brought proud France. The verdict of the Court is as if no such breach of extra-territoriality had ever occurred.

The journal hopes that the verdict in this case will act like "a very cold bath" upon the enthusiasts for the idea of international arbitration in general, and The Hague Arbitration Court in particular.

The *Post* is the recognized organ of the Free Conservative Party, which is in many respects the most influential moderating force in German politics. Its attitude towards international questions, especially on such an occasion as this, is both regrettable and bewildering. It is impossible to believe that the journal is an accurate mirrer of the opinions of the party led by Prince Hatzfeldt. It ought on the other hand, to be recognized abroad that, journalistic extravagances apart. German hostility to arbitration as a menace to *Realpolitik* shows very little sign of diminution.

The Irish Indenpendent. A Weekly Progressive Irish American Newspaper, 11 March 1911.

A Hague Arbitration Farce.

There was brought before an Arbitration Court at the Hague last month, a case which gave a singular opportunity to the two countries concerned, England and France, to show that the spirit of equity and justice, which the Gouvernments of both countries are never tired of boasting about, are the mainsprings of all their policies and actions. The conduct of the case showed that the very contrary is the truth, and the British Govcrnment went further by displaying the most flagrant contempt of the whole proceedings.

The special court assembled at the Hague on the fourteenth of last month, aud was opened with a windy discourse by the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bernaert, one of the arbitrators, who presided. There were three foreign correspondents present, a French, German and English, as the case was one of special international interest, and they were considerable astonished when they were informed that the proceedings would be held behind closed doors, only the opening and coucluding sessions being open to the public. In other words, this first arbitration of its kind before a court constituted to establish peace and justice in the world, was turned into a Star Chamber Tribunal within the secret recesses of which principles of right were prostituted to might, and justice tramled underfoot.

Under the circumstances the result was a foregone conclusion, the result of what a French political personage, who was present at the opening said was "another of those silly inventions of Pichon," the late French Minister of Foreign Affairs. Some kind of a "gentleman's agreement" had been come to between Mr. Pichon on the part of France, and Lord Lansdowne for Englaud, and Savarkar has been sacrificed. He is to spend the remaining years of a still young life rotting in a Britisch prisons another of the many martyrs whom India has already given tho the cause of their country's liberty. But he has also helped to kill for the future any confidence that may have existed in the Hague Tribunal. It was a miserable farce and a travesty of justice.

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l'Humanité (25th February 1911).

"It is with sadness and astonishment that we learnt yesterday of the judgment delivered by the Court of Arbitration in the Savarkar case.

It is impossible to succeed in combining in a single judicial decision the same number of inexact and controverted statements. To say that there was no "fraudulent manoeuvre" on the part of the English agents for obtaining the recapture of Savarkar, to add that it was carried out in good faith, is simply to deny or to ignore facts which are the least contested and the most cearly established. The gendarme Pesquié asserts and repeats—and no one has denied it - that he gave up Savarkar to the Indian policemen only because the latter, to use a phrase of the English journal '*The Nation*', had duped him as to the true status of the fugitive. The shouts of "Stop thief!" which were raised from the deck of the English boat itself constitute the most flagrant "fraudulent manoeuvre". The request made to Pesquiè by the British Consul "to prevent the escape of maritime deserters" is another proof of the bad faith of the English officials in the whole of this affair and in the fraudulent circumstances in which the arrest was effected.

The "*Peuple*" of Brussels.

"Thus the judges of the Hague confine themselves to declaring that there have been no acts of violence and no fraudulent manoeuvres on the part of the English agents, but simply an error of the French gendarme.

As for this error, it is declared to be outside the power of France to remedy it; and so, for this fault of a French agent, Savarkar is to be the sufferer. Such, it seems, is international jurisprudence.

Very well, then, we consider this jurisprudence wholly arbitrary.

The French gendarme has manifestly been guilty of an abuse of authority in arresting the fugitive Savarkar on French soil.

Equity demands the correction of such abuse of authority.

The Court of the Hague decides, however, that Savarkar is to undergo the terrible consequences.

Now that England has triumphed in the name of law, of a still very dubious international law, will she not spontaneously liberate Savarkar in the name of equity? The act would be humane.

The well known liberal journal, *l'Independance Belge*. which has distinguished itself by its campeign in favour of peace and arbitration, pnblishes the following editorial upon the Savarkar judgment.

"A telegram from our correspondent at the Hague informed us yesterday that the tribunal of arbitration appointed to judge the Savarkar case has decided that England is not bound to restore Savarkar to the French goverment. This decision will certainly be a surprise, and it is of a nature singularly destructive of the confidence one might have in international arbitration as it is actually organized and where purely political considerations seem to outweigh the idea of pure justice."

After a concire exposition of the case, the journal proceeds:

"The answer can hardly be a matter of doubt to impartial minds. Savarkar was handed over by mistake by an agent ignorant of his duty. It is the rule of civilized countries not to give up a political refugee, and if, as it is alleged, Savarkar could be considered as a prisoner under the Common law, there ought to have been regular proceedings for his extradition, with all the guarantees afforded by this procedure. The Arbitral Court considers "that it is clear that we have not here a case in which recourse has been had to fraudulent manoeuvres or to acts of violence for obtaining possession of a person fugitive in foreign territory; that in the facts of the arrest, the surrender and the removal of Savarkar to India, there has been no infringement of French Sovereignty; that all those

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who took part in the incident were certainly acting in good faith and did not at all believe that they were departing from legality." For these and other reasons has decided not to restore Savarkar to the French Government.

In truth, good faith does not excuse an error, and we are here concerned with a simple question of public law. The judgment betrays a purely reactionary inspiration; and if we are astonished that such an incident, where the right of France to demand back a refugee given up in error, is evident, should have had to be submitted to arbitration at all, we cannot but be amazed to find that the Court Covers up such a denial of justice with the pretext that the error was committed in good faith. Liberal minds with truly find it painful to admit an arbitral judgment which makes light of an international principle recognized and valued by all civilized nations.

Munich 14th March 1911 German political magazine.

Mr. Comrade Houssman — a leading advocate and a wellknown member of the German Reichstag writes as follows: —

The Savarkar case was interesting both from political and humanitarian point of view. It is true that according to common, criminal or international law Savarkar had no right to be represented and that France was the only sovereign power to demand his re-integration or otherwise. It is certain that the favour promised and accorded by the French police to the English to prevent the escape of Savarkar almost amounted to giving him up and that the circumstances in which he was actually handed over, though the French gendarme ignored the fact that the person surrendered was Savarkar, created a serious prejudice. Hence these circumstances will conform the belief that France does not maintain her right of asylum during the period of the Anglo-Franch Entente and consequently has given a hard blow to the human sentiment of right expressed by right of asylum.

One can understand the situation of both the countries but it is sincerely regettable that both the countries, that were so proud of being know as the homes of individual liberty and the right of asylum all over the world, have parted with their glory in the Savarkar case, this ideal loss is greater than the real gain of this successful and unsympathetic surrender and ruin of a political prisoner.

The Woman of Many Wiles.

The Indian Siren.

"And the angle said unto me, Wherefore didst thou marvel?
I will tell thee of the mistery of the woman."

(Revalations. Chap. 17 Verse 7.)

We are very sorry to expose the wiles and machinations of a lady at all times. For our chivalrous temperament makes us unwilling to find any fault in a woman. But the necessities of the time compel us to compromise our principle and to show that a certain woman—we shall not call her a lady, is a disgrace to her sex and a pest to mankind. Mrs. Besant has been noted for many things in her rather adventurous life. But her latest rôle has been that of a subtile and dangerous enemy of the Indian people, among whom she flits to and fro like a bat in the darkness of the night. We admire her talent and it gives us the keenest pain to think that so much ability should be prostituted in the cause of serving the tyrants of India by a woman, whose early days gave promise of a brilliant and inspiring future. Mrs. Besant's tactics arouse our indignation to such an extent that we are in danger of losing our respect for the whole sex which she represents. Her activity makes her the enemy of her sex and of humanity in general.

As the sirens tempted men to their ruin by their music, so this gifted, elequent woman is luring. Indian youths to their destruction by her sweet and false words. Deadlier than a serpent's venom is the poison of her silvery speech that is drunk by charmed audiences throughout India. Hypocrite, charlatan, liar and flatterer, by turns, she tries to gain our ears by all the tricks of a shrewd and unprincipled woman. She knows what she is doing, and her unexampled wickedness makes us shrink with horror as we think of it. That a woman should employ her talent for cheating poor ignorant young men, for perpetuating the slavery of a race that is already follen, for inflicting the most awful wrong on a baffled and helpless people, is a spectacle that fills our heart with shame and sorrow. But that she should practice her nefarions trade under the guise of religion, that she should repeat the formulae of the highest spirituality while prostituting her intellect for the meanest purposes, this is enough to brand her with infamy for all time to come.

Ever since the establishment of the Central Hindu College at Benares, Mrs. Besant has given up her propaganda of theosophy, and has sunk deeper and deeper in the mire of hypocrisy and falsehood. She has thus ruined her moral life deliberately and consciously. Perhaps the passion of race-superiority has got the better of religious fervour. She has always been unstable and inconstant in her attachment to ideas and causes. This quality of her mind led Mr. W. T. Stead to call her "the woman with the open mind." However that may be, it is certain at present she has fallen in with the plans of the caste that governs India, and she is to be reckoned among such clever and sagacious enemies of India as Sir W. Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. Nevinson and others, whose policy we have several times exposed in the columns of this journal.

What is Mrs. Besant's function, then, in the ranks of the official agents? What method does she follow? She is entrusted with the delicate mission of controlling the Hindu religious system from within. The government can not touch our religion directly and openly. But such a vast and influential organisation cannot be left alone by a foreign bureaucracy, which dreads every institution that may serve to unite the subject race. Hence the spies and cheats are sent in disguise to enter the citadel and misguide the guardians. Mrs. Annie Besant and her fellow-workers in Benares like Dr. Richadson and Mr. Arundel are British imperialists working with a view to obtain control of Hindu religious life. They are like wolves in sheep's clothing and are more to be feared and condemned than such blunt and rude enemies of India as Lord Salisbury or the Times. That is why these persons profess great admiration for the Hindu scriptures. That is why Mrs. Besant wears a shawl and eats Indian food. That is why she has translated the Bhagvad-Geeta and founded the Central Hindu College. She has now devoted her energy to the Imperialist propagande of Great Britain. What a pity that a career which began on the heights of religon and universal brotherhood in London should finish in the miserable ditch of misguided and pernicious patriotism at Benares! Many have started like Jesus and ended like Judas. And Mr. Besant's fall is only one among many examples of the power of low ideals in this world where vice is contagious and every one lives on an inclined plane of moral life.

Our attention has been drawn to her lecture at Lahore in which she declared that foreign invasion has often been the means of development and that the Indians should cease to hate the Anglo-Indians. How are these ideas to be reconciled with her theosophic mission? What mahatma has revealed these principles to her? Now every one can see that this woman has entirely thrown off the mask and preaches the "Divine dispensation" cant of Ranade's disciples. Surely she is no longer a mere "religious" enthusiast, teaching people some truths or falsehoods about the soul and the future life. We shall not discuss the statements advanced by Mrs. Besant, for we belleve our readers are already wise enough to reject them as absurd and stupid. Besides, we deprecate the habit of indulging in political, dialectics as if it were a useful weapon. India does not want to have it proved and demonstrated to her that British rule is a curse. She knows it and feels it. Theories are out of place now. What India wants is the awakening of the conscience, of the higher life, which should give men the power of doing their duty, of resisting the seductive influences of indolence and avarice, wordly ambition and selfish vainglory. Even if we should quote all the wise men of the world to show that foreign rule is an evil, that would not improve matters in the least, India knows all that she should know: she knows whence come plagues and famines and spies and insults and oppressive laws. What she lacks is the power to rise against the evil-doers. We devote our efforts not to dull dissertations on abstract political doctrines but to impassioned appeals to the heart and the conscience of the slumbering people. For the heart beats still, though faintly; this conscience can be awakened yet, though a deep sleep has fallen upon it.

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THE BANDE MATARAM

Monthly Organ of Indian Independence

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves
Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.
(*Gautama Buddha*).

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A CALL OF DUTY. — We must remind our readers that though this journal is „prohibited" in Hindusthan, a very large number of copies nevertheless find their way into the homes of our countrymen by whom it is much appreciated. We have frequently pointed out that the importation of all forms of revolutionary literature is a sacred duty incumbent upon every man and woman who is devoted to the cause of our country's independence. And we therefore request our readers to use every possible means that their ingenuity can devise to ensure the successful smuggling of this and subsequent issues of this journal into our country.

IN MEMORIAM.

19th. April 1910.
Sacred to the memory
of
DESHBHAKTAS KANHÈRE,
BARVÉ and DESHPANDÉ
who were put to death by our enemies in Bombay on the above date for their heroic and successful conspiracy at Nasik.

British Rule and The National Intellect.

All the faculty of a nation must decay under foreign rule. Its intellect must suffer in the unhealthy atmosphere created by a foreign administration. Its mental calibre must slowly undergo deterioration till it is finally reduced to intellectual imbecility. A subject people lose their capacity of thinking for themselves, of judging about men and affairs, of entertaining original ideas and carrying them out, of initiating far-reaching schemes of action and executing them, of achieving the great results which only a nation directed by great minds can attain. The Hottentot is inferior to a European in mental stature: his capacity of thought is limited. The Hindu is at present superior to the Hottentot in this respect: but under British rule he will be more and more degraded to the level of the latter.

(a) The absence of public life. Mental faculties like others grow and develop by constant exercise. A man who does not write will forget the art of composition. A musician who does not sing will gradually lose his skill. The management of the state brings out all the higher faculties of man. The administration has to think long and deeply before he can form his judgment on any particular problem. The common people learn to weigh pros and cons of difficult social questions by having to deal with them in every day life. The intelligence of the nation is thus constantly exercised on important questions relating to social welfare. A free people are always alert, intelligent and capable of having peons of their own. A subject people on the contrary, have nothing to do with the public affairs of their country. They are excluded from the administration of their country. Their upper classes are not entrusted with any political duties. No important offices are bestowed upon them. Instead of taking interest in national questions, they gradually sink into indolence and imbecility. They cease to think of the state, because they have no share in the management of state affairs. Their forefathers were statesmen and thinkers: they degenerate into mere sots and fops.

The deterioration of the national intellect can be perceived at once, when an Indian State is annexed to the British Empire. Under their own raja, the sons of rich men of the state find employment in the administration as magistrates, ministers and generals. They have to think how they can best administer the department to which they belong. They take an intelligent interest in all political affairs, for they have a stake in them. They try to understand questions of foreign policy, because their state is affected by them. They know every thing about taxation, irrigation and other great national interests. They are wide awake and their daily life is interesting and develops their faculties. All this growth is due to their participation in actual politics.

After the state has been annexed, the active classes find their occupation gone. They are excluded from the management of public affairs. They are not concerned with the administration. They must play only a passive part. They are to pay taxes and sit at home or take to private business. Their sons know nothing about taxation, justice and police, as these matters are beyond their sphere. Politics are outside the range of their usual activities. Political questions are to be decided by the foreign rulers. They are not called upon to think and decide. Thus in course of time, the grandchildren of statesmen and generals turn out to be mere ordinary householders earning their livelihood and deaf to the call of public duty, as it does not exist for them.

Active participation in political life is one of the greatest means of intellectual development. Foreign rule reduces all classes of the subject population to a condition of passive inertia.

It is observed that the people living in great historic cities like Delhi and Lucknow, are more intelligent than the inhabitants of other towns belonging to the same rank of society. Why is this so? Simply because the former are keenly interested in local politics: they discuss whatever happens in the place; they are in constant touch with the centre of political life. Their wits are sharpened and their capacity of understanding complicated issues are developed.

Under foreign rule, the common people have no interest in politics, they have only to pay and suffer. The king is not of their race and faith. The state is no longer their state. They do not feel any enthusiasm for either. They pay taxes and obey the laws,

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leaving the rest to the rulers. They do not look upon the foreign governor's house with any affectionate solicitude as to the welfare of its inmates. If a son is born to the governor, they don't celebrate the occasion by a political demonstration. If he dies, they do not mourn. All governors are for them mere birds of prey and passage. Political life ceases for them with the fall of their national state. Under their own raja, they are *active citizens;* under foreign rule, they are passive subjects. That change explains the whole situation. They must become more and more stupid under the new regime till they are finally reduced to the level of Hottentots and Bushmen who cannot think of any social questions.

A free nation always produces great thinkers and statemen; a subject people can never produce any statemen, because there is no state.

This aspect of British rule has been fully recognised by those cowardly creatures who flatter the tyrants from fear or selfinterest. Thus G. K. Gokhale, the evil genius of present day India, referred to it in his speech at the National Liberal Club, London on Nov. 15, 1905:

"Those are great evils, and of those, none, to my mind, is so great as the continuous dwarfing or stunting of our race that is taking place under your rule. Our rigorous exclusion from all power and all positions of trust and responsibillity on a scale never before attempted in the history of humanity, involving, as it does, an enforced disuse of our national abilities, is leading to a steady deterioration of our race, and this, I venture to think, is a cruel, an iniquitous wrong." The same subject was dealt with by this person in his evidence before the Welby Commission in 1897: The excessive costliness of the foreign agency is not, however, its only evil. There is a moral evil, which, if anything, is even greater. A kind of dwarfing or stunting of the Indian race is going on under the present system. We must of all the days of our life in an atmosphere of inferiority, and the tallest of us must bend in order that the exigencies of the existing system may be satisfied. The upward impulse, if I may use such an expression, which every school-boy at Eton or Harrow may feel that he may one day be a Gladstone, a Nelson or a Wellington, and which may draw forth the best efforts of which he is capable, is denied to us. The full height to which our manhood is capable of rising can never be reached by us under the present system. The moral elevation which every self governing people feel can not be felt by us. Our administrative and military talents must gradually disappear, owing to sheer disuse, till at last our lot as hewers of wood and drawers of water in our own country stereotyped".

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is even more emphatic in his denunciation. What oriental despotism or Russian despotism in Russia can produce a more deplorable result"? In his opinion, the present system is "making the British Indians degradingly deteriorated and debased, crushing out of them their very humanhood".

It is only in the Indian states, where some modicum of self-government still remains, that our genuis can find scope for itself. A Hindu boy in an Indian State can rise to be a Dinkar Rao, a Madhav Rao or a Salarjung, but he can never be a statesmen as a British subject". *A* nation without statesmen has no place in the world. It is justly regarded as a nation of incapable coolies. It can not claim an honourable position in the comity of nations.

The British tyrants know full well the evil results of their policy. They have been consciously and deliberately crushing out all talent and initiative in the country. Mr. W. Thackeray, a member of the Madras Board of Revenue in the early years of the 19th. century, said: "The leisure, independence and high ideas which the enjoyment of this rent affords has enabled them (i.e. the English noblemen) to raise Britain to the pinnacle of glory. Long may they enjoy it! *But in India that haughty spirit, independence and deep thought, which the possession of great wealth sometimes gives, ought to be suppressed.* They are directly adverse to our power and interest. We do not want generals, statesmen and legislators. We want industrious husbandmen".

Sir Thomas Munro, another blood-thirsty "founder" of the British empire in India, wrote in the early years of the British rule: The advocates of improvement do not seem to have perceived the great springs on which it depends. They propose to place no confidence in the natives, to give them no authority and to exclude them from office as much as possible: but they are ardent in their zeal for enlightening them by the general diffusion of knowledge. No conceit more wild and absurd than was ever engendered in the darkest ages, for what is in every age and every country the great stimulus to the pursuit of knowledge but the prospect of fame or wealth or power? Or what is even the use of great attainments, if they are not to be devoted to their noblest purpose, the service of the community by employing those who possess them, according to their respective qualifications, in the various degrees of the public administration of the country? How can we expect that the Hindus will be eager in the pursuit of science unless they have the same inducements as in other countries?

If superior acquirements do not open the road to distinction it is idle to suppose that the Hindu will lose his time in seeking them ... He would not study what he know could be of no ultimate benefit to himself; he would learn only those things which were in demand, and which were likely to be useful to him viz. writing and accounts. There might be some exceptios, but they would be few".

Thus we know, from the reasoning, from the testimony even of friendly critics and from the confessions of the criminals themselves that the British government is one vast iniquitous machine for reducing us to level of brutes by crushing out all intellectual gifts in our race. This is a calamity more dreadful than the loss of wealth or honour. For wealth and honour are external appendages to man, which he can acquire by effort. But mental capacity is in a man, it constitutes him what he is. A general process of deterioration in this respect, accentuated by heredity, will result in "de-humanising" us, and undoing the labour which has made us what we are.

Hence we must with one voice cry. "Down with this engine of destruction. Down with this monstrous diabolical organisation which is robbing us of our very manhood. Down with it once and for ever". Amen.

The Principles of Taxation in British India.

We propose to give an outline of the general maxims which are followed by the British Government in its taxations of the people. We should never suppose that the British rulers of India are stupid or ignorant people without settled and definite aims and methods. Their policy with regard to taxation has been framed for the purpose of consolidating their empire. Its fundamental principles are as follows.

(I) The taxation must be as burdensome and oppressive as possible for the masses of the people, for the poverty is the greatest deterrent from political life among a spiritless people. If they "wax fat", they might learn to kick. All the despots dread the increase of material prosperity among their subjects, for wealth stimulates ambition, fosters pride and independence, and gives men the leisure and education which are necessary for political action.

This principle has been applied with thoroughness. Mr. John Bright, the Liberal leader; said in 1879: "The taxation, as I have said, is oppressive, and oppressive to such a degree that all the authorities in India say you cannot turn the screw any more, and that if you do, some thing worse than a deficient revenue may follow."

Sir David Barber speaking of the state of things existing twenty-two years ago, said: "There is no big tax left now which is not open either to great objections or which would not excite great discontent. I think we have put on pretty well all the taxation that could be put on without its becoming a very serious matter".

The *Pioneer*, the great exponent of the benefits of British rule, wrote in 1898: "We have virtually tapped every important source of taxation".

The oppressive character of the taxation can be judged from the fact that, in spite of Mr. Bright's testimony to the extremely heavy incidence of taxation in 1879, more taxes were levied during the twelve years 1886—1898. We extract the following from a speech delivered by G. K. Gohhale, now an inconsistent apologist for British tyranny, the Legislative Council in 1902. Nine of these twelve witnessed the imposition of the new taxes. First came the income tax of 1886, and then followed in rapid succession the salt-duty enhancement of 1887—8, the petroleum and patwari taxes and extension of the income tax to Burma in 1888—9, customs on imported liquors increased in 1889—90, the excise duty on Indian beer in 1890—1, the import duty on salt-fish in Burma in 1892—3, the reimposition of the 5 % advalorem duties on imports excluding cotton goods in 1893—4, and the extension of import duties on the cotton goods in 1894—5. In 1896 countervailing Excise of 3½ % was imposed on cotton goods of all counts manufactured in Indian Mills. Lastly came the countervailing duties on bounty fed sugar in 1899. But this is not all. The land tax too has come in its own automatic way for large "augmentations during the period. Taking the ordinary revenue alone "under the head, we find the increase has been 2.82 crores. The "total augmentation of public burdens during the past 16 years comes "to over 15 crores. Such continuous piling up of tax on tax and such "ceaseless adding to the burdens of the suffering people *is probably "without precedent in the annals of finance.* During the past 16 years "the country has pased through a more severe phase of agricultural "and industrial depression, and yet it has been called upon to "accept these fresh burdens year after year in increasing without "interruption." From this it appears that the stage at which the last straw performs its disabling function has long since been passed in India.

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No wonder that large surplus accrue to the government while famines devastate the land. The existence of those surpluses is a collateral proof of the heavy taxation, as they came out of the pockets of the people. A surplus is the confession of guilt, specially on the part of such a spendthrift and costly administration as exists in India.

The total of these surpluses during the nine years 1898—1907 was 36 crores of rupees!!!

Thus 1898—9.39 crores,
1899—1900 4.2 crores,
1901—1902 7.4 crores etc.

(II) The second principle of British-Indian taxation is that indirect taxes are preferred to direct taxes. The reason is not far to seek. A direct tax presses heavily on the people. It is keenly resented and excites discontent. It is immediately felt as a burden and a grievance. Indirect taxes rob the people without giving so much pain. They are scarcely known to those who pay them. They purchase cloth or salt or wine, and they do not realise that they have to pay a higher price for the article because it has been taxed. In nine cases out of ten, they blame the retail-dealer for his dishonesty in raising prices! This is often seen in villages. The government would endanger its very existence if it imposed many direct taxes on the people. Thus when the fall in the value of silver in 1893 caused much financial embarrassment, the government tampered with the currency instead of getting more revenue by new direct taxation. The debased currency raises all taxes by 45%, but ignorant villagers do not know it.

(III) A third principle underlying British-Indian taxation is that the upper and middle classes are taxed much more lightly than the peasants, who form the bulk of the population.

India is an agricultural country. More than 85 % of the population is connected with the soil. The peasants are hardy and frugal but ignorant. Above them is a small class of land-owners. Whatever public opinion exists in the country is guided and voiced by the upper and middle classes, who wield enormous influence in society. They are the brain of the nation. They can plan and organise. If they ally their intelligence and capacity for organisation with the physical strength of the peasantry, the combination will be disastrous to the government.

Hence the Government does not impose any heavy taxation on the intellegent and welltodo classes. On the contrary, it offers them posts, pensions and scholarships in order to conciliate them. The peasants are oppressed with grievous taxation but the urban classes are spared. Thus common financial grievances cannot arise to unite the two sections. Mr. O'Conor, some time Director-General of statistics, described the poorer section of the Indian cultivators as a class that "contribed most largely to the finances of the state." G. K. Gokhale has also shown that the peasants really pay a proportionately larger portion of the state revenue than other classes. "It is from this peasantry", he said in his budget speech in 1907, "that, over the greater part of India, the land revenue of the state is derived, and it is the same with provincial rates. Then the bulk of the revenue from drink comes from these classes. The exite duty on cotton goods falls almost exclusively on them. Under stamps and registration, they pay certainly their fair share and probably more than their fair share, since the bulk of our litigation is about small amounts. Under forest, they have been deprived of their immemorial right to free grazing and free fuels and the proceeds of these are only burdensome part of forest receipts.... Even under Customs, Sir Edward Law once calculated that they paid between 20 and 25 percent. The only tax from which they are altogether free is the incometax and the proceeds of this tax are comparatively small, being under one and half million sterling a year. Now these, together with the salt-tax, of which the main burden is admittedly borne by them, are our principel heads of revenue."

Thus we see that the financial fabric of the British-Indian Empire rests on the basis of Excessive, Indirect and Unequal taxation the subtlest device of frendish ingeniuty to crush a subject race without exciting discontent and to prevent the growth of general movements against tyranny. And let us all realise that those who assist the government in carrying out this policy of ruthless silent and judiciously managed brigandage are the enemies of their country and of mankind.

Still in the Woods.

(*Communicated*).

Good news again hails from Calcutta that the champions of the Cause of Liberty have by no means gone to rest as was very confidently imagined by the enemies, but are as active and watchful of the opportunities as ever. It is an uphill work, this work of the liberation of India, and those who have undertaken it have from time to time shown that they know how to make the best use of the limited resources at their command. As every body knows, for a long time that the national party will only have to play a waiting game and it is more by tiring out the enemy than by putting forth all the energy at once that the ultimate goal will be easy to reach. When the police were particularly watchful and arrests and prosecutions were the order of the day it was very prudent for the Independent-party to be quiet for a time. It was evidently upon this purposeful inactivity that the tyrants had based their erroneous conclusions and Minto was congratulating Morley and Morley was congratulating Minto and both of them were congratulating the traitorous band called the police, on having succesfully stamped out "anarchism" which is the enemy's favourite word for Nationalism. But the most recent events have shown that this happy congratulation was rather too early, and, that Nationalism stands where it was, in spite of all the mischievous efforts of the government.

Our readers must be aware that a short time ago a; Head constable of police, named Chakrabarty, was shot to death and almost immediately afterwards a bomb was thrown, but unsuccessfully, at the carriage of an English Officer, which was evidently aimed at some person holding a high rank in the Detective Department. The head constable has been sent to his last account and has been finally relieved of his anxiety of telling tales against his countrymen and betraing them to the enemies. The other man ought also to have been y followed but unfortunately escaped, and we offer our sincere condolence to him for the undeserved lengthening of his life's sinful thread. We can not conceive of a better death for an Englishman than to fall a victim to the revolver of as Hindi Nationalist, and we really pity him that the officer in qustion should by an evil fate be deprived of the chance that a Bangali lad had generously offered him. But it is a privilege to have a noble death and it is only God's favourites that obtain it.

The bomb has been inspected by the Chemical Examiner and he has given his expert opinion that it was by far the best bomb that he has ever seen. This certificate given by an enemy makes our heart leap with joy, for it proves that the martyrs that have gone, have not carried with them the art of bomb making to their living grave but have handed it over to their disciples whom they perhaps thought to be cleverer in political manoeuvres than themselves. In the arrest made in connection with the bomb, there are of-course the indispensable students, who have hitherto been serviceable to the country's cause and who ought to put to shame many a moustached wretch who is trying to perpetuate the yoke of slavery to gain his private ends. But in the arrests, there are school-masters and ex-professors too. Another fact that fills us with delight, for it is really an ennobling sight to find preceptors ready to put their preaching into practice. What further turn the events will take we cannot guess at this moment, but we are glad that the serenity of the atmosphere is disturbed and that the good name of Indian Nationalism has been vindicated.

The attempts like those mentioned above are invariably dubbed as "Cowardly" by brave Englishmen, and even our own countrymen, who do not scruple to sell their birth right for a mess of pottage, style it by that name. That the natural meaning of the words shall be thus twisted does not amaze us, but it certainly gives good food for amusement. Those of our countrymen who for fear of a prosecution or a press-confiscation call these deeds cowardly will not assuredly lay a very strong clain to courage, but even the Englishman who first invented the term could not have been very serious in his language. For if Khudiram Bose is cowardly an Englishman is ten times more cowardly. The whole history of an Englishman's exploits is one consistent record of cowardliness and baseness. How did the English men win the battle of Plassey? How did Hastings extort money from the defenceless Begums of Oudh? How did Dalhousie make all his vast annexations? Was ever a free, open fight given? Is there any transaction of the English man which will bear the searching light of dispassionate criticism? Every where you see, you will find trickery treachery, underhand dealings and worse practices. Has then the Englishman any right to call Khudiram a Coward?

If the Englishman is very brave, he ought to govern India like a brave man. Not even the worst tyrant that ruled over India ever thought of *disarming the people*. Who did it first? The cowardly Englishman. Not even the worst ruler that ever came to India ever thought of abolishing the *Akharas*. Who did it first? The cowardly Englishman. Not even the worst ruler that ever sat on an Indian Throne ever thought of preventing more than twenty people to meet. Who did it first? The cowardly Englishman. Not even the worst ruler that took homage from the Indian subjects ever thought of

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violating the secred privacy of domestic correspondence. Who did it first? The cowardly Englishman. Not even the worst ruler that called himself a king ever thought of cutting down the poor man's salt. Who did it first? The cowardly Englishman. Can he still call Khudiram Bose a coward?

The fact is that Khudiram's way of warfare is the only left to us in our present state of circumstances. There is nothing cowardly in it, there is nothing to be ashamed of. To quote the very appropriate, almost axiom-like, words or our beloved martyr Madanlal Dhingra, "Since open battle is rendered impossible to a dis-armed race, we have to attack by surprise, since guns are denied to us we have to draw forth our pistol and fire". The question of cowardliness comes in only when, there being an equal chance of fair fight, a man purposely shuts it. But is it so under the rule of English? Is there any possibility of obtaining an open fight?

If as in olden times, an open combat was possible, can we believe that the hero like Madan Lal Dhingra would not have availed himself of it? Would he not have been too glad of such a chance?

But the old days of square deal are over and we are living in the age of deceipt and trickery. Formerly it was a rule of honest warfare, Dharma-Yuddha as it was called that if an opponent had not the same weapon as you had, no battle was to be given to him. It was also a recognized rule that if during a fight the opponent lost or broke his weapon, you had to wait till he was provided with proper arms. It was also further laid down that wherever an opponent gave you a challenge for combat, you had no option but to accept it. And nations' fates were decided not by the test of trickery but by the honourable test of courage and skill in arms.

Now look at the methods of the English. They know that the Indians are their enemies. (For how is it possible for a *man* to love the foreigners who have seized his land, who have devasted his country, who have pillaged his home and who have humiliated him before before the eyes of the nations?) But knowing that the Indians are their enemies, do the English allow them to take good arms? Do they allow them to take the arms at all? Do they allow them to carry even *lathis*? According to the rules of the honest warfare, we have seen that it is the first and the most sacred duty of a combatant to allow his adversary to take the same arms as he has and to wait striking till he is so provided. But this plain rule of right conduct the English refuse to observe. What should Indians do with such foes.?

Now take the sacred rule. This rule demands that if any one gives you a challenge to fight, you must accept it. The rule has left you no option. If you don't accept the challenge you are coward and a shame to your mother. Judging by this standard, what is the position of an Englishman? Does an Englishman allow an Indian to give him a challenge? If he were to allow him to, the bluest blood of Indian Nationalism will very willingly come forward to decide the dispute in an open fight. If the Nationalists would not come out then, by all means call them cowards. But now what is the fact? The Indians are ready and it is the Englishmen that hide themselves? If an Indian were to come forward and say, "you Englishmen, I hate you, come and fight with me, he would not even be heard to the end. At once a batch of slaves would rush out and march the honest man to the jail. His straightforward challenge would become sedition, would amount to waging war against the sovereign and so on, till the man would find himself loaded with terms of punishment, sufficient to last him for ten life-times.

So it is not the Indian that evades fight, but it is the Englishman. Who then is the coward? It might be said that the Englishman ruler, is right in refusing to fight with a subject. Very well, but does every ruler *disarm* his subject? The Mahomedans had once the honour of being the rulers of India. But they never thought it necessary to disarm the Indians. Again at the present time the English are not the only people that are governing the alien races. There are other people too who have diminions abroad. But they have never disarmed their subjects. Now if in a circus one man can handle a lion fanged, and another does not dare to come out till the lion is unfanged and muzzled is not the other man a coward?.

Yes, the Englishman is a coward, a cowardly wretch. Not only does he have no courage to accept the challenge, not only does he leave the enemy undefended, but he takes delight in attacking defence-less persons. Only the other day, a number of *unarmed people* were shot down like game in the Moharram riots in Bombay. Now a riot is a common thing in every country. On every important occasion, riots take place. If there is a suffragete meeting, there is a riot. If there is a Jeffrey-Jenkins wrestling there is a riot. No sensible rulers of ordinary courage are filled with wild panic on account of riots. But look at the Englishman. A small riot unnerves him and in his mad fury he shoots down people by scores simply because he had a rifle in his hand and the people were defenceless. What a cowardly wretch he is!

Dealing with villains like these, an Indian must throw to the winds all the ordinary rules of warfare. The Englishman is a snake and he must be thrashed and mauled and killed wherever he is found. With gentleman we can be gentlemen, but not with rogues and scoundrels. It is no infamy if an Indian pupil shoots down his English professor, if an Indian clerk shoots down his English superior, if an Indian barrister shoots down the English judge and Indian patient shoots down an English doctor. In a meeting or in a bungalow, on the railway or in a carriage in a shop or in a church in a garden or at a fair, wherever an opportunity comes, Englishmen ought to be killed. No distinction should be made between officers and private people. The great Nanasaheb understood this, and our friends the Bangalies have also begun to understand. Blessed be their efforts! Long be their arms! Now indeed we may say to the Englishman. Don't shout till you are out of the woods.

The following is the text of the preface to Ghayati's volume of verse for writing which Farid Bey is now in prison: — (From the *Nation* London,)

THE EFFECTS OF POETRY.

"Poetry is one of the most effective means of awakening the apathy of the peoples and arousing in them a new life. It is poetry which gives them courage in the fight, and engenders in them the ardour and enthusiasm which makes them ready to risk life on the field of battle. Indeed, epic poetry has been in existence all through the ages; Arabs have been as familiar with it as Greeks and Romans. No one would deny that the national hymn so well known as the "Marseillaise," the work of an officer, Rouget de l'Isle, was one of the most powerful auxiliaries in the victory achieved by the French people over the Sovereigns of Europe, who have always striven to stifle in the people's minds the sentiment of liberty.

"And now we see many of our own writers insisting on the need for composing national songs and hymns to be taught to our children. They will come much better from young lips than the worthless ballads which are endlessly repeated in moments of leisure, and more especially during the sacred season of Ramadan. It has even been urged that there should be a modification in this sense of the hymns sung at our fêtes, which have no other inspiration than to describe lovers and theirs loves.

"One of the effects of absolutism has been, alike in the East in the West, to stifle this kind of poetry by offering rewards to poets to write poems made up of eulogies on Sovereigns, on Princes, and on their Ministers. This poetry was a long way from creating in the people's minds any sentiments of liberty and independence. In much the same way the sermons delivered in our mosques have been mawkish and unprofitable; for nowadays they all turn on the conventional theme of the renouncement of the world, that is to say, the encouragement of idleness, and the lack of initiative in life.

"But the peoples have aroused themselves, and have set about composing patriotic songs and hymns, some in cultivated language, and others in the colloquial tongue of the working and less-educated portion of the populace. This has been one of the great means of bringing to life a spirit of patriotism in the various classes of society.

"It is very pleasant for us to notice this movement among ourselves. The majority of our poets have abondoned eulogistic poems in honour of Sovereigns and grandees. They consecrate their talent to patriotic poetry and to subjects which absorb public interest. It is under the warmth of this noble movement that we have seen "Watamati" come to light. It is a special pleasure for us to see that our own country has been invaded by this new spirit. The Denshawai affair with all its consequences, the late Moustapha Pacha Kamel and his patriotic efforts, the Suez Canal and the opposition of the General Assembly to the idea of prolonging the concession, have all of them been made the subjects of hymns sung by the people in the country, and of popular airs at our fêtes and social gatherings. It is a movement which has been blessed. The proof is that our efforts have already produced fruit, that they have gone right down to the hearts of all classes of our society. The movement tells us in advance of a near deliverance from the Occupation and from absolutism.

"It is the duty, then, of our poets to tear themselves from the deplorable habit of writing verses to order for this fête. They must make use of the noble gifts with which God has furnished them to serve the people, to educate them, and not to grovel at the feet of the rich, and prostrate themselves before the powers that be. Governments will pass, but the people is eternal. All honour, then, to that man who will hear and understand; who will sacrifice himself in the service of his country, and who will be up aud doing; for his efforts will never be under-valued, and it is God himself who will bestow upon him his best reward."

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The BANDE MATARAM

A Monthly Organ of Indian Independence

« Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto youselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence. »
(Gautama Buddha).

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The 10th. May 1911

The 54 th. Anniversary of the Great Revolution of Hindustan

The Girl-Patriot: Ranee of Jhansi

The 10th of May is a great day for the people of Hindustan. It was on this day exactly fifty-four years ago, that the people of Hindustan made a mighty effort to rid their beloved Motherland of all foreign domination and establish freedom and independence. Though infortunately for us and for Asia in general, the revolution of 1857 failed, yet it has its own lessons to teach us. The history of this memorable day and the eighteen months that followed it, is full of glorious deeds of valour, exhibitions of uncompromising and unflinching patriotism, acts of thorough unselfishness and great self-sacrifice that tingle the imagination of every true and patriotic son of Hindustan. Every student of the history of Hindustan has, on this day, passing before him, in vivid array, a regular phalanx of heroes and heroines who fifty-four years ago fought and died for their country, their faith and their liberty. He sees before him Nabob Wajid Ali Shah, Moulvi Ahmed Shah, Azimulla Khan, Nana Sahib, Tatia Topi, Kumar Singh, Amar Sigh and last but not least the young girl-Ranee of Jhansi. All of them seem to shine in splendour and senerity. But when he looks at the young Ranee Lakshmi Bhai of Jhansi, she seems to have a peculiar halo around her head which far outshines those of others surrounding her. He searches in vain high and low in the History of the World for a fit comparison for this girl-patriot of Hindustan.

Let us now look at the life of this Ranee. In the early thirties of the 19th century there lived in Varanasi, Moropant Tambe and his wife Bhagirati Bhai. Tambe was attached to the retinue of one of the minor Mahratta Zamindars. Little did the young couple know that they were to be blessed with a child which was destined to become one of the world's brightest jewels. It was in the year 1835 that the couple were blessed with a child whom they named Manu Bhai. The couple were driven by vicissitudes of fortune to Brahmavarta where the defunct Peshwa, Baji Rao, was keeping a mock court. There little Manu became the pet child of the court and was soon made the play-mate of Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the Peshwa, who was himself to play a great part in the revolution of 1857. These two children played together, learned their lessons together, fenced together, rode together, and handled all sorts of warlike weapons together, until at last little Manu was as good an athlete as any young boy of her age. Her intelligence, her quick grasp of every subject, and her ability elicited the admiration of every body and endeared her to every heart. She was no match for any commoner. It would have been a sacrilege to bestow her hand upon a mediocre man, in whose company her abilities would have no scope. Probably she was destined from her very birth to carve out a name for herself on the permanent rock of the World's History. As it alway happens in such cases, very soon, the chance came. The young Maharajah of Jhansi was searching for a wife and the choice fell upon the beautiful Manu Bhai. Soon she was betrothed to Maharajah Gangadhar Rao of Jhansi and became Maharanee Laxkshmi Bhai. As misfortune would have it, Maharajah Gangadhar Rao died in 1853, leaving no children. According to the ancient Hindu custom established since the days of the great sage Manu, the author of the oldest Code of Law in the world, Ranee Lakshmi Bhai adopted a child by name Damodar Rao to continue the line of succession. But the avaricious and unscrupulous English Government refused to recognise the right of adoption and annexed the kingdom of Jhansi. They forgot that they were dealing with a no mean woman. Jhansi was not a country to be annexed by word of mouth or by means of a proclamation. Ranee Lakshmi was determined that if they wanted to take her country they were to march over the dead bodies of herself and her devoted soldiers. When she heard of the proposed English annexation she is said to have exclaimed "Give up my Jhansi?—No? I will not. Let him who dares try to take it from me." "*Mera Jhansi mai nahin devungi.*"

Then began the real contest between patriotic fervour and love of liberty on the one hand and unscrupulousness, deceit and cunning on the other. The contest was between a mere girl of twenty-one with a few hundred followers and the veteran English army led by able commanders.

Soon after the revolution broke out in May 1857, Jhansi also threw off the foreign yoke and declared herself free and independent. By comon consent, Ranee Lakshmi Bhai was proclaimed regent and guardian of the young adopted prince Damodar Rao. All the English who had occupied Jhansi were banished or killed and once more peace and prosperity reigned in Jhansi. Things had come to assume a normal aspect. The people were taking to their ordinary vocations. But the far-sighted Ranee knew no rest. She knew no vocation other than war. Therefore she organised her forces, repaired the fortifications and ordered fresh ammunition to be manufactured. A fresh arsenal was built and every thing was prepared and got ready for all possible cotingences; for, this little girl of twenty-two knew that the revolution had not ended yet but was surely coming on again. Every thing was supervised by herself and not a single detail escaped her personal notice. The English on the other hand were not idle; they had drawn up a complete plan of campaign for regaining their lost authority in Northern and Central Hindustan. Sir Hugh Rose, an experienced commander, was deputed to recover Central

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Hindustan and he accordingly set out with a large army and a considerable number of guns. He subdued easily all the provinces surrounding Jhansi and encamped on the 20th March 1858 about fourteen miles from Jhansi, preparatory to investing the city. But meanwhile what was happening at Jhansi? The people from the surrounding districts crowded into Jhansi for protection. They knew that the Ranee would offer a stout resistance to the English and where she was they had no fear. The Ranee herself was not idle. She had got every thing that she could get ready for the coming conflict. The people were ready to lay their lives down at one word from her. For to them, she was the goddess of war, the messenger of freedom and the incarnation of liberty.

On the 25th of March, the English army invested the city. Then began terrible cannonading on both sides. During the third day of the siege, the guns from the fort which were fired under the personal supervision of the Ranee completely silenced the English guns. Whenever a portion of the battlements was destroyed, the young and agile Ranee was there immediately and her very presence inspired the masons and the gunners to repair the battlements at the risk of their lives. This was not all. The women of Jhansi, high and low, rich and poor, all alike, were inspired by the example of their noble Queen and helped to carry ammunition, supply provisions and build *top-khanas* caring nothing for their lives. Though the Ranee knew that she was fighting against odds, against better disciplined armies equipped with more effective guns and powder, she never lost either her courage or her heart. She was at every point of the fort giving orders, encouraging soldiers, soothing wounded men and blessing those who had fallen fighting. Such was the noble Queen of Jhansi who, it must be remembered, was after all only 23 years of age. The Ranee overcame all difficulties, but what could she do against treachery. The small fort held out till the 3rd of April, but on that fateful day the southern gate of the fort was captured by the English with the aid of treachery, and Jhansi was no longer secure. Most of her best gunners had died and Ranee Lakshmi was disconcerted for the moment. An author describes her thus : "When the Queen stood on the wall of the fortress looking at this sad sad picture of her beloved city, she was smitten with grief and tears started to her eyes. Yes, the beautiful queen wept. Those soft eyes were red with weeping." Her beloved Jhansi to be reduced to such a plight! She did not weep for long. As she looked up, she caught sight of the English flag floating over the battlements. She could not bear the sight of that flag on her fortress and turning to one of the Sirdars by her side, said, "I have determined to blow myself up by the fort, setting fire to the ammunition with my own hands". Hearing this, the old and faithful Sirdar begged her to sesist from taking such a step and persuaded her to break through the enemie's lines by cover of night and join the main revolutionary army then at Kalpi. The Ranee is said to have replied, "I should choose to die on the battle-field, but being a woman I fear that the enemy may insult my person". Then all the Sirdars and the whole retinue answered with one voice, "Insult! so long as there is life in the body of the least among us, our swords shall cut to pieces the enemy who would dare so much as *touch* your sacred person".

At last, the Ranee was persuaded to break through the enemies' lines with a handful of followers. She put on the male apparel — which she wore always in battle — and descended the fort. A steel armour covered her person, a poniard was in her girdle, a fine sword hung by her side and her adopted child Damodar Rao was on her back. Her body-guard was composed of only of ten or fifteen horsemen.

The next morning the English learnt that the Ranee had left during the night and a detachment under Lieutenant Bowker was sent in pursuit of her. The detachment, though it overtook the Ranee's party, had a curious tale to tell. Lieutenant Bowker emboldened by the fact that the Ranee's party consisted of only fifteen horsemen, rode ahead of his party and pressed close to the Ranee. The result was a long sweep of the Ranee's sword and Bowker fell to the ground with a gaping wound. A deadly fight took place between the fifteen gallant horsemen and the English detachment. The latter was completely routed and had to retire carrying back the wounded lieutenant. But the Ranee pressed on her course, and at midnight joined the main body of the revolutionary army, having accomplished one hundred and two miles in less than twenty-hours, fighting with a man like Bowker and that with the burden of a child on her back.

At Kalpi, the whole revolutionary army was again attacked by the English and once more the military prowess of the young Ranee was called into active play. When the attack began, the vanguard of the revolutionary party went too far in advance, and being not well covered had to fall back. The young queen who saw this rushed forward sword in hand at the head of her little cavalry and fell with furious onslaught on the advancing English. The onslaught was so sudden and so terrible that the English had to retire in a helpless mass. This rapid onslaught of the girl who was scarcely twenty-three then, with her horse galloping at full speed and her sword cutting men down to the right and to the left, this was what inspired and exhilarated her followers. Her very presence acted like magic on the masses and roused up the dying hopes of the revolutionaries. Later in the day, the English guns were committing havoc on the revolutionary army. It was again young Ranee Lakshmi that dared to undertake the perilous task of silencing those guns. The Ranee advanced at the head of her little cavalry right on to the mouth of the guns and attacked the gunners. The English gunners not being able to stand the charge of this spirited cavalry left their guns and ran away in all directions. Thus once again Ranee Lakshmi Bhai gave a proof of her indomitable courage on the battle-field.

Once again and for the last time, the skill and sagacity of the Ranee were requisitioned. This was at Gwalior. When the English laid siege to the final stronghold of the revolutionaries, i. e. the fortress of Gwalior, the Ranee was deputed to guard the eastern gate of the fort. She donned as usual her military uniform and followed by her two favourite girl companions, Mandara and Kashi, who were likewise accoutred, led her army. In this contest, all her powers of endurance, all her bravery, all her wisdom and all her skill were called into play. The army that was to attack the Ranee's troops were commanded by General Smith. The Ranee moved about all day, was present at all points of attack giving orders, attending to the wounded and the sick and at the same time fighting at the head of the troops. The English army attacked the solid phalanx of the Ranee's troops again and again, but all in vain. The battle raged the whole of the day and in the evening the English General had to retire after having suffered heavy losses and without being able to break the Ranee's ranks. The next day, the English army led by their commander Sir Hugh Rose himself in person, renewed the attack. The brave Queen once more led her troops undauntedly to the action and over and over again repulsed the besiegers. An Englishman who was an eye-witness, writes : — "Immediately, the beautiful Ranee went over the field and made a firm stand against the array of Sir Hugh Rose. She led her troops to repeated and fierce attacks and, though her ranks were pierced through and were gradually becoming thinner and thinner, the Ranee was seen in the formost rank rallying her shattered troops and performing prodigies of valour. The camel corps pushed up by Sir Hugh Rose in person broke her last line. Still the dauntless and heroic Ranee held her own."

But while she was fighting on her side of the fort with such unexampled bravery, the English had defeated the revolutionaries on the other side and were marching on her rear. The Ranee though she had only about fifteen or

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twenty horsemen left with her, did not lose courage. She formed the bold and desperate plan of cutting her way through the columns of the enemy and joining her comrades on the other side. An author describes:—"With unexampled courage, she cleared her way with her sword and marched on. Suddenly was heard a cry 'I am dead, Bhai Sahib, I am dead.' Alas! whose is this cry? Lakshmi turned round and found that it was her maid Mandara whom a white soldier had shot and killed. Angered, she attacked the Feringhi and her blow felled him on the spot. She had avenged the death of fair Mandara. She then marched on. She came to a little rill. Now, one jump and the Ranee of Jhansi would have been out of the Feringhi's clutches. But her horse would not take that jump. . . . As if the fire of the magician was round him, he moved in circles round and round, but would not cross. Before you could say 'one' the English horsemen closed on her. Still not a word of surrender or fear. One sword against their many swords yet she closed on them. She crossed, sword with sword with them all, but one of them hit her on her head from behind. With that blow the right part of her head and even her right eye came out. Just then another blow hit her on the breast. Oh! Lakshmi, Lakshmi, the last drop of thy sacred blood is dripping and therefore, now, Mother, take this last sacrifice for thee." A faithful adherent by name Ramachandra Rao Deshmukh, who was near, took the bleeding and dying Ranee to a cottage close by, and laid her on the rude cottager's bed. Before any body could be sent for, the brave Ranee Lakshmi had departed from her mortal coil, having done her duty towards her Motherland. Oh! What a noble death! And in what a glorious cause! She has certainly had her choice of dying on the battle-fields. As soon as it was known that the Ranee was dead Ramachandra Rao in accordance with her dying instructions prepared a pile of grass unseen by the enemy; he put her on the pyre and before the touch of slavery could defile her body she was cremated.

Ranee Lakshmi has died doing her duty. By her example she has shown to every daughter and son of Hindustan the way to suffer and sacrifice for the country's cause. Her uncompromising love of the Motherland shall always be before our minds. Her devotion, her fortitude, her never-failing conrage, her sagacity, her unmatched skill are the wonders of the world. O! Hindusthan! Thrice blessed are you to have borne such a brave daugther. Are we also daughters and sons of Hindusthan? If we are, should we not complete the work begun by this girl-patriot, Ranee Lakshmi Bhai? A successful revolution and a free and independent Hindustan, this and this alone will be the most befitting monument that we could erect to her name. Let us remember that in our revolution we must always be guided by the motto that guided our glorious Ranee Lakshmi Bhai, fifty-four years ago, *viz; Death rather than dependence.*

BANDE MATARAM.

Deshbhakta Savarkar

An appreciation and an appeal

The inexplicable decision of the Hague Tribunal has disappointed the hopes of those who expected from its pronouncement a complete vindication of the right of political asylum as well as an exposure of the low cunning and unfairness of Bristish imperialists. Somehow or other the supreme international tribunal has decided against our comrade, and we find ourselves baulked of all the fair hopes that we had been cherishing of his return in our midst. We have fought a steady stubborn fight, and we waited to see that justice would be done to us, and to France, whose honour was bound up with the affair. But the unexpected and unaccountable decision has shaken the faith of some of our best contemporaries in the value of international arbitration, which may be influenced by political considerations.

This is hardly the time for writing any laudatory note on our comrade, who is now destined to pass some time in the far off blessed island, which will become a place of pilgrimage for the sons of Ind in future, even as Mecca and Jerusalem attract the steps of the votaries of Islam and Christianity; for, we may hope that Indian manhood may rise up and assert itself, even before we expect, and put an end to the pain and suffering of India's most heroic sons by transferring them from a barren island and Bristish dungeons to the seats of honour in an Indian National Parliament. Time develops all forces which now lie latent in the human heart and mind, and no one can predict what great achievements may be in store for our peoples if once they free themselves from the trammels of vice and indolence. So let us hope that the judges that have dared to condemn our comrade have really signed a sentence against the whole British administration and that we shall thus be instrumental in rescuing our comrade and others who have gone before him across the sea from the horrible fate for which the enemy has chosen them.

In the mean time, we must learn the lessons that stand out sharp and clear from the career of our gifted and beloved comrade, who consecrated his life to the service of the Fatherland from his earliest days. Nor should we forget his brothers, worthy kinsmen of such a patriotic leader, who have shed undying lustre on their familiy by accepting exile and suffering for the cause. There is no family in India which has offered a similar sacrifice on the altar of freedom, and we venture to say that the history of the Savarkar brothers is perhaps unparalleled in the annals of patriotic movements. Nowhere perhaps has a single family contributed under such tragic circumstances so much moral power to a national movement. The very name of the family is ennobled and enshrined in the hearts of the people as a living example of the virtues of self-denial, steady silent resolution and unflinching courage in the midst of difficulties, virtues which are more often talked of than practised in any country and especially among our people. That is the great lesson we can learn from our great comrades, alas! too short a career as an inspirer and organiser of nationalist work in India and England. To remain true to the ideal under all circumstances, to realise the dream of early youth in the hard struggle of mature days, to follow the sacred gleam though darkness and discouragement, to exhibit a persistent doggedness of resolve in the midst of ever-fluctuating events that shake the faith of the stoutest, this is one of the outstanding features of comrade Savarkar's work and character. He was always working and is working now, for thought-power and and suffering-power cannot be lost sight of in our estimate of moral energy in the world. Ever devising new plans, ever developing old projects, ever striking out new channels of activity, ever inspiring the faint-hearted and confirming the wavering, he stood at his post, in fair weather and in fough, like the doughty captain of a storm-tossed vessel in midocean. Energy seemed to flow from him as water from a fountain. Alert, active, resolute, he rushed in where timid worldly men feared to tread. One of his most notable achievements was his protest at the meeting of soulless Indian brutes held to condemn martyr Dhingra for having sacrificed his life for them. Calculating persons were prone to question the wisdom of the step. But those who understand the workings of noble emotions in generous hearts find in comrade Savarkar's conduct an inspiring deed of deathless courage. If our youths had half the courage and sincerity that is usually expected of civilised nations, the meeting could never have been held. Comrade Savarkar's incessant activity and restless pursuit of various plans for the furtherance of the propaganda often seriously compromised his health. But who can work for an ideal, to whom health is so very dear? By the sheer force of his personality, by his sweet tact and influence, by his inimitable winning ways, by his fiery zeal and his burning words of admonition and exhortation, by the stimulus of his daily example, by his rare and remarkable talent for oganisation,

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by his ardent impassioned imagination that brought the future and the past willing captives to the footstool of the present, by those varied and unrivalled gifts, he converted the listless frivolous Indian youths of London into energetic and earnest patriots ready to undergo the greatest sacrifices for the ideal of freedom. Mighty architect of hearts and minds, subtle fashioner of rude ore into forms of wondrous beauty, comrade Savarkar displayed even during the few years that he was allowed to work, that he was a man of no ordinary mould. And we should learn from his life much needed lessons of constancy and courage, heroic self-denial and devotion to the ideal. We are not at liberty to communicate to the readers all we should like to tell them. If we were, they would see that India's debt to our comrade is infinitely greater than the meagre record which is usually given in newspapers. But we cannot admit the readers and the world into the arena of nationalist annals at present. Time reveals all and gives every man his due.

Now we must resolutely ask ourselves, "What duties result from the event for us?" For every event in the world creates a duty for every one of us. That is the law of human solidarity. In this case, our duty does not and should not stop with moralising and sentimental talk. What is our duty then? Why, to checkmate the enemy by giving to the movement more than has been taken from us. These lines will be read by hundreds of young men. The story of our comrade's self-sacrifice is known to thousands. Surely at least a dozen able and earnest young men should forthwith devote themselves to the ideal for which our comrade has suffered so that our ranks may not be thinned, but rather, on the contrary, every stroke of the enemy should add fresh strength to our forces. Personalities count for nothing. If young men determine to devote themselves to the movement in the same spirit as animated comrade Savarkar and take vows of poverty and celibacy, India will behold her Savarkar returned to her many times over and may find some consolation in her present trial. In battle, when a soldier falls, another immediately steps into his place. In our struggle with tyranny, when one comrade is taken from us, ten should come forward to fill the void. Thus only can we even at this moment triumph over the enemy by our moral force, which is the greatest power known to humanity, and then alone will this moral force, which now leads to poverty and self-denial, render that sacrifice fruitful by leading us to the Revolution whose sword-girt figure we see with our mind's eye. That is our duty resulting from this event. Thus we can foil the plans of our tyrants, and convert even the defeat of the Hague into a brilliant victory. What alchemy there is in moral resolve! What power of transforming and transmuting human events! With only a little sacrifice, we can even now turn the tables on the enemy, and change his joy into mourning. For the accession of a dozen earnest missionaries to the propaganda will more than counterbalance the loss which has been inflicted on us.

Thus only our comrade's suffering may bring much good to the cause. Thus only can we say that we have done our duty to him and to India.

Long as the Indian race endures and guards the hills and temples of sacred Hind, shall the names of comrade Savarkar and his brothers live in our history, cherished by countless generations yet unborn.

The Egyptian Problem

We have received a copy of a weekly news-paper "Egypt" published in England by some friends of Egypt. It aims at enlightening the British public on the facts of the situation in Egypt, and pleading for a liberal policy in dealing with that country. We have also received a valuable pamphlet, entitled "Abbas II Intime", in wich the writer exposes the unscrupulous and unpatriotic Khedive of Egypt, whom he wishes to see dethroned and sent into exile like Sultan Abdool Hamid and the ex-Shah of Persia. Both these publications are significant of the trend of feeling in Egypt now-a-days.

We can not say that we welcome our new comrade, the "Egypt" in to the field of Journalism. We are terribly impolite and outspoken in our conduct as an organ of public opinion. We never indulge in false courtesy toward the living or the dead. We do not welcome the new paper, we say, we do not wish it a long life. We think that it has no right to exist. We trust no Egyptian will read it. We hope it will soon meet a silent and inglorious death for want of support.

We do not extend the right hand of fellowship to the new journal as we are convined that its advent bodes no good to the future of Egypt. It will make mischief, it will mislead and demoralise the Egyptians by asking them to fritter away their energy in enlightening the so-called ignorant Bristish public on Egyptian politics. It will emasculate and enfeeble the life of the Egyptian national party by leading it to depend on words and speeches and deputations to England. We therefore say that we hate the new paper and do not bless it. It is not wanted and we hope it will soon diappear "unwept, unhonoured and unsung".

As regards the pamphlet on the Khedive, we appreciate it and congratulate the author on his courage and patriotism. But he falls into an error when he thinks that one man, be he a Cæsar or a Sultan, can ruin a whole people. That is a very common fallacy. The whole nation makes or mars its destiny, for public opinion can always set aside a bad ruler. Charles I and James II could not deprive the English people of their civil and religious liberty. The Khedive may be a monster of selfishness and greed, but the temper of the people, which tolerates his actions, is the real cause of the disaster that has overtaken this unfortunate people.

Instead of groping about in the dark for the remedies for the situation, let us recognize that the civil organism is decadent, decrepit, disintegrated. It has no vitality and lies like a corpse for the first vultures that chance to pass by. As it happens, these vultures are already there and have commenced their gruesome work. Egyptian patriots should set to work slowly and silently to renovate the moral life of their people, insisting on honesty, sincerity and moral courage in daily life. Further the moral capital on wich the mass of the people have been living for centuries has been exhausted. There is no current moral revenue to defray the normal expenditure demanded by the needs of the present age. Hence all Egyptians should turn to this task of moral generation instead of wasting their energy in abusing their rulers, who are only tools of the English, or venting their wrath on this or that individual. All this noise will avail nothing. There must be something wrong with the morale of the nation, in which 4.000 English soldiers cannot be defeated by 13 million able-bodied peasants. For the present the curtain falls on the History of Egypt. In future Egypt will again rise as a nation, transformed, regenerated, with "sweeter manner, purer laws", when some mighty moral movement will have purified its soul and given strength to its arms. Let all Egyptians therefore devote their efforts to this great work instead of dabbling in political cries that mean nothing. Egypt has been on her trial in the fields of politics more than 40 years. She has failed. Let us recognise the fact. The remedy lies in the inauguration of great moral movements that should change the face of society, shaking it to its very foundations.

This work cannot be accomplished by mere orators or poets or "politcal leaders". It can be attempted only by those to whom the moral life is a reality and a duty, and who are intensely serious in their views of life and its meaning.

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THE BANDE MATARAM

Monthly Organ of Indian Independence

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves
Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.
(*Gautama Buddha*).

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The policy of association with government.

Its motives and consequences.

There are many honest and misguided young men who cannot understand our absolute and unqualified condemnation of the practice of accepting posts under the government which is so widely prevalent in India at present. If there is any one truth that we hold with a firmness of conviction amounting to fanaticism, it is this oft-repeated principle of Dissociation with Government. Don't serve the government, in any capacity even though the office of Member of the Executive Council is offered you by the head of the empire itself — this has been, is, and will be our consistent and constant appeal to our compatriots. He who does not respond to it is not fit for any higher teaching.

We therefore propose to describe some motives that prompt the government in offering places to the Indians. Many simple folk do not comprehend even such plain things, because India has lost political commonsense through disuse. We desire to show that the motive of the government is the wish to consolidate their empire, and that the consequence of our acceptance of government service is the degradation and enslavement of our race.

As the British government seems to attach great importance to confessions as a weapon against the revolutionaries, we too produce candid confessions of many tyrants in order to demonstrate the real motives in offering posts to intelligent or rich Indians. The extracts that follow may be labelled "The confessions of Candid Carpet-baggers".

Mr. W. Chaplin, Collector of Madras and Commissioner of the Deccan, said in his evidence before the commission of enquiry in 1831: "By permitting the natives to fill a few of the high situations, we shall gradually raise a native aristocracy of our own, who being indebted to our government, will feel an interest in maintaining it being sensible that they would be the first to suffer by any revolution they would then consider the security of their own fortunes identified with the safety of the government". Could anything be more candid?

The Court of Directors, in a despatch to the Governor- General of Bengal dated the 29th September 1830, wrote: — "In the meantime we wish you to be fully assured not only of our anxiety that the judicial offices to which natives are at present eligible should be properly filled, but of our earnest wish and hope to see them qualified for situations of higher importance and trust. There is no point of view in which we look with greater interest at the exertions you are making for the instruction of the natives than as being calculated to raise up a class of persons qualified by their intelligence and morality for employments in the civil administration of India".

The motive of attaching the upper classes to the government is also apparent in the following extract from the despatch of the Court of Directors to the Government of Bombay dated September 29, 1830: — "We are sensible moreover, that it is our duty to afford the best equivalent in our power to these classes for the advantages of which the introduction of our government has deprived them; and for this & other reasons, of which you are well aware, we are extremely desirous that their education should be such as to qualify them for higher situations in the civil government of India than any to which natives have hitherto been eligible".

Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, wrote a minute on Education in 1828, in which he said: "One of the chief objects I expect, from diffusing education among the natives of India is our increased power of associating them in every part of our administration. This I deem essential on *grounds of Economy, of improvement, & of security.*"

The Duke of Wellington said in 1833 that "he certainly thought that it was *advisable* to admit the natives to certain inferior civil & other offices."

Mr. W. Chaplin, Collector of Madras, declared in 1831 that it would be to the interest of Government "to leave open to their ambition (viz, of the upper classes) some of the higher & more lucrative offices of the Government, & to allow them to participate as much as possible in the administration of their own country; it may not be politic to allow them to hold the highest departments, which, I conceive, should always be filled by Europeans".

With reference to Legislative Councils, Mr. George Campbell said in 1853:—" I have all along assumed and hold as beyond all question that the idea of giving them any actual power is altogether chimerical and impossible. I would propose that some distinction, corresponding to our rank and office of privy councillor, should be conferred in the name of the crown, on natives of talent and distinction throughout the country".

The resolution of the Government of India on municipalities, dated the 10th. October 1881, observed:—" There has been rapidly growing among the country an intelligent class of public spirited young men, whom it is not only bad policy but sheer waste of power not to utilize".

Having dealt with the motives of the government in associating Indians with the administration, we now proceed to discuss the effects and consequences of this policy on Indian society.

(*a*) The Social Degradation of the Upper classes. The British rulers desire not merely to retain the military and political leadership which they have won, but also to acquire social supremacy over the Hindus. They wish to meet Indians on a footing of inequality in everyday life. A rich or cultured man who accepts a government appointment puts himself under the British race to a much larger extent than one who stays at home or engages in trade and industry. He has to salute his superior officer with humility and respect, and thus cannot presume to say that he is not inferior in social position to the English race. The practice of receiving a salary from Englishmen and showing them respect in everyday intercourse undermines the feeling of pride and selfrespect which

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constitute the essence of manhood and patriotism. Thus the Government deprives some of our best men of the noblest qualities of character by employing them in its service.

(*b*) The Dependence of the Upper Classes on Government.

The policy of associating clever Indians with the administration renders them dependent on the favour of government for their livelihood. They must therefore identify themselves with the new régime, for money is the greatest thief of character. Thus the government is always sure of the support of a large class of persons, who carry weight and influence in society. The avarice of the educated classes is the salvation of the government.

(*c*) The Absence of Union among the People.

A nation can be organized by its educated classes or by its wealthy men. Culture and wealth are the two great forces which are required for social leadership. There may be exceptions to this general rule, but they are due to unusual combinations of circumstances. The policy of associating these classes with the administration thus leaves the nation without a leader. The possible leaders are all bribed, and remain aloof from all patriotic movements, as participation in them would endanger that god whom they worship, viz, their livelihood. They cannot expose and criticize the policy of the Government at any time. When the classes possessing rank and wealth and education sell themselves to the foreigner, the people are like sheep without a shepherd. The wolves can come and destroy the flock.

Hence a person who accepts office under the government perpetuates foreign rule and is a criminal. Whether he knows the results of his actions or not, his action is disastrous to the welfare of his nation. This is the very first lesson to learn before we can make more progress in the path of righteousness. Yet we meet persons who are quite convinced that they are great patriots even while they serve the government, and earn money by its sanction and support. Strange moral blindness which perverts their judgment! "The love of money" is the root of all evil" said St. Paul, and, it is as true today as it was when it was written. A systematic policy of boycotting, converting or persecuting the servants of the government is a necessary condition of all activity on the part of nationalists.

Drive out The English.

The only answer to Industrial and Educational "reformers".

(*Communicated*).

Freedom the only need.

Well, why always talk of the freedom of India? Why incessantly play to the same tune? Why ever and anon dwell upon the same theme? Is there nothing else to think about? Is freedom the only need of India? Is she perfect in all else? If not lay aside this subject a while for God's sake.

But it is for God's sake that we can not lay it aside. If we possesed the art of circumscribing our sense of right and wrong, our aspirations and expressions, according to the whims and impulses of *Man*, we could have possibly abandoned, as many "illustrious" personages have done, our longcherished mission. But our nature rebels at the idea, and, come good, come evil, we are unable to preach false doctrines.

For, as a matter of fact, Freedom is the *only* need of India. She wants nothing else. Not that she is perfect in all other things. No, she is imperfect in every way, we are fully conscious of her imperfections. But those imperfections cannot pass away unless India has freedom.

There are people, who say, and say honestly, if politics has become a dangerous game, let us leave it for a while, let us turn our attention to the industries; let us bring about the much-needed social upheaval; let us reform our religious beliefs; let us develop our philosophies; let matters educational be taken in hand, let an impetus be given to litterature. Let us allow the wrath of the enraged British Government to calm down and then we may take up politics again.

At first, this idea seems to have much to recommend it. Up till now politics has apparently been all loss and no gain. Tilak has been awarded six years of confinement. Lala Lajpat Rai has been made mute and dumb. Ajit Singh has had to seek refuge on foreign soil. Savarkar's life is trembling in the balance. Barendra has been sent to the Andamans, the blood of Dhingra stains the gallows and hundreds of young men have been cast into prison for the crime of patriotism. Surely an enormous waste of life and energy! Could not these very forces have been utilised in a better way? If Tilak had been free, another work of ancient researches would have enriched human knowledge. If Savarkar had not dabbled in dangerous things elegant contributions to historical literature would have been made. If Chidambaram Pillai had not been silly, Madras would have splendidly advanced in the field of industries. Surely a fool and his fortune are soon parted!

We say again that this reasoning is brilliant but not sound. No progress in whatever direction can be made in Hindusthan unless Hindusthan is free. Japan rose in thirty years because Japan was free. China has progressed trom crude despotism to an intelligent liberalism because China is free. And if Hindusthan wants to advance, Hindusthan also must be free. Progress and foreign domination are incompatible. They are contradictory terms. The presence of one implies the negation of the other. You can have one at a time, the two together—never.

Take Industries. Why is boycott a crime?

Do you talk of industrial progress? Show us how it can be effected under British supremacy. We have to remember at the outset that the East India Company had cut off the fingers of the Bengal weavers in order to put them out of competition with the English manufacturers. It is a fact and no fiction — a fact recorded by the English historians themselves. All the English courts in India and all the provincial goverments have now clearly declared that the preaching of the boycott of British goods is a crime punishable under the British code. They have at the same time admitted that the preaching of boycott does not mean the preaching of violence. If the boycott has nothing to do with violence, why indeed should it be interdicted? Because, they reply, it creates ill-will between classes and classes. Now let us pause and consider who these classes are. The principal classes in Hindusthan, if the term has any reasonable meaning at all, are the Hindus, the Mohammadans, the Parsees and the Indian Christians. The boycott of Manchester goods can, in no possible way, rouse the indignation of the Hindus. And yet it has pleased our enemies to assert that it is this "wretched" race alone that is at the bottom of all mischief. A large majority of the working classes among the Mohammadans in Hindusthan are weavers and if by the boycott of English linen more coins creep into their pocket they have forsooth no reason to feel offended. Even the Nawab of Dacca, the High Priest of Mohammadan loyalty, will have nothing to complain of if a factory labourer five thousand miles off earns a farthing less than be used to do, so long as cows are slaughtered on the Bakr-Id day and the Viceroy that be invites him as usual to the levee. As to the Parsees, they are the owners of *all* the mill industry in Hindusthan and will bless the day when they can become the sole controllers of the market. Our Christian brethren, well, they are only in their infancy, and care little either for *Swadeshi or Bideshi*. Their main pleasure in life is to wear coat, hat and boots in the most uptodate European style and will buy wherever they get the things cheap, never minding whether it was an Indian or an Englishman that sold those to them. Whose feelings then does the boycott hurt? Why, the feelings of Englishmen, and here is the right interpretation of the *ill-will between classes and classes.*

Because the Englishman is a knave and a coward.

Thus the boycott is a crime not because it sets the Mohammadans against the Hindus or the Christians against the Parsees, but because it comes into conflict with the self-interest of the Englishman who is the ruler.

A proverbial coward, the Englishman will never talk things in their plain real sense. He will always try to a shuffle and disguise his fears with high-sounding but meaningless phrases. He speaks of the ill-will between classes and classes because he is ashamed to own that he dreads the eventuality of boycott becoming universal and thus affecting his own pocket.

One of the two classes between whom the ill-will is to be supposed to spread is constituted by none other than the Englishman himself!

The Industrial Problem is Wholly the Political Problem.

Mr. Industrial Regenerator, if you are a man of comon sense, you will admit that industries will never grow unless they are protected at least in their Infancy. Hindusthan is a country extremely rich

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in her natural products. Labour is cheap. There is no dearth of enterprising capitalists, and business men with brains there are plenty. Why, then, should not the Indian industries prosper? We know that your premises also are the same. You start exactly with these ideas and picture to yourself a Hindusthan adorned and beautified with magnificent factories, the capitalists making a roaring trade, the working men earning ample wages, and your own rooms decorated with things purely Indian. And all this, again, without making so much as a whisper about *Swaraj* and being unpleasant with the authorities. A simple remedy, why should it not enter into the brains of these political workers, you wonder. Why should they make such a row and fuss and make such a mess of the whole affair? Well, we shall explain why. If you take up industrial growth as your mission, come and try to set up your factory. You need not be anxious about the capital, we shall supply you with the necessary funds. Now, to start with, you must apply to your rulers for *permission* to erect your factory. They will come and examine and enquire and if in any way they apprehend that your business is likely to give a blow to the interests of European merchants, they will *refuse to issue a licence* and your cherished dreams will fall to the ground. The government need not say that you will be a dangerous rival. Oh, they will never say that. But there are so many convenient phrases in the British legal vocabulary that the authorities will never find any difficulty to pitch upon of one these to ruin you. Your building may not be up to the mark; your Engineer may not be a certified person, your mechanics may not be qualified men, or your method of work may not be in conformity with the strict requirements of law. If you escape this death-blow at the entrance and are able to obtain a licence, you must procure raw material for your work. This means railway-freight and municipal taxes. And the municipalities even in the biggest towns are invariably in the hands of Englishmen. Could you believe, were it not a fact, that an Englishman presides over the corporation of Calcutta the metropolis of the country? These Englishmen know very well which goods to tax, and, your articles, if they are undesirable, are sure to be heavily taxed. You have to work your factory for only a fixed numbers of hours, for the English ruler is particularly anxious that you do not over work your men in your zeal to make a *larger* out-turn. You, say, your products are ready and you want to send them out for sale. Please pay to the Railway Companies again, Companies owned by Englishmen; pay all the fancy rates they might be pleased to levy upon your articles. In India you cannot have your own Railways. The Post, the Telegraph and the Railway, viz, the means of communication and transport, the English ruler has decided, *must* always be in the hands of Englishmen. And the Railway tariff is so abnormally high that it is cheaper to convey goods *from Germany to Bombay* than to convey them from Bombay to Calcutta.

With such heavy loads on your back the municipal taxes and the Railway freight — it is in the nature of things impossible that, with all the advantages of nature and talent, your goods will be cheaper than the imported goods. And it is this and not the imaginary greed of the Swadeshi merchant that makes the Swadeshi articles dearer than the foreign. Supposing however that in spite of all these drawbacks they happen to sell cheaper, the shame-faced English rulers will at once impose extra taxes until the prices become sufficiently prohibitive. When the Parsi mill owners of Bombay began to beat Manchester merchants, the government of Lord Elgin at once passed a law levying duties on all Bombay goods and removing those which had been lain on the English cloth, thus killing one Indian bird with two stones.

Therefore: — "Drive out the Englishmen."

With this attitude of the English ruler towerds you, can you, O industrial friends, hope to bring about a revival of Indian industries? Did the Indian industries die a natural death or were they *killed* by Englishmen? And if the latter, will the Englishman aid you in bringing them back to life? Will the butcher ever consent to revive the victim, especially if he has slaughtered the animal to fill his stomach and not merely for sport? And did not the English butcher slaughter Indian industries for filling his stomach? What hope have you then for his sympathy and assistance?

Thus the industrial problem resolves itself preeminently into a political problem. The talk of a non-political industrial movement is nothing but silly twaddle. If you wish your industries to grow, drive the Englishmen out. An industrial development implies the power of taxation, and if you want the power of taxation, drive the Englishmen out. An industrial prosperity requires the control of means of transmission and if you want to have that control, drive the Englishmen out. An industrial progress necessitates sound industrial education, and that can never be given until the English devil is kicked out from the Indian shore.

Take Education: The Indian is an outcast in foreign lands.

Yes, even for imparting education to your youths, it is necessary to wipe the English out of existence. Japan sends hundreds of young men to foreign countries to learn arts and industries. Is the Indian Government doing that? The English empire, it is said, is more extensive than any other empire. If so, the Indian youths must have a wider field to go for education than the less fortunate subjects of other Governments. But is that the case? Can he move freely even in British territory? Is he afforded facilities for education in England? Can he go to South-Africa? Can he enter Transvaal? Is he admitted into Canada? Can he even buy a passage to Australia? Is he freely permitted to set foot in East-Africa whose very existence and prosperity were built up by his labour? And if in disgust, he gives up British territory as hopeless, and wants to go to other countries, is the arm of the British Government long enough to protect his interests? Does the British Government protect him in the United States or in the colonies of the United States and of Europe? Does he obtain for him special concessions in Japan or France? No, everywhere the poor Indian student goes, he has to stay there on his own responsibility, to trust to his own resources, to fight his own battles. What then is the use of the British Government?

Other Governments do not behave like that. They give their own backing, make use of their own prestige, for the protection of their own subjects, that happen to go to foreign countries. Not so the British Government. An imbecile people that cannot protect their subjects even in their own territory, what protection can they give them in foreign lands? Thus the British subject is the unhappiest of all the unfortunate beings that are under a foreign yoke. How can education thrive in these circumstances?

Education at home meant only to make us clerks and spies.

If there are obstacles in the way of Indian youths in getting education abroad, their career at home is by no means smoother. The best institutions, like the Engineering College of Roorky, are solely reserved for Europeans. It is only the third rate colleges and schools that are open to the sons of the soil. And there too, all antiquated knowledge is imparted by mediocre European teachers who, failing to find situation in their mother country, consent to go out for better prospects. The whole educational system of the British Government is dictated by the desire to turn out clerks and "subs" who might be useful as patient and painstaking assistants to do the whole drudgery of office-work on a nominal pay. No encouragement is given to private enterprises, and, if any aspire to rise without the aid of the Government, they are quickly suppressed. An attempt is made to turn school-masters into spies and detectives, and, there are actual cases in which little lads of sixteen or seventeen were employed by the mighty British Government to watch the political activities of their class-mates. Can demoralization go further?

No Education possible unless Hindusthan is free,

And it is in these environments that some people aspire to carry out a big educational propaganda as an alternative to politics. And we can only say that nothing but disappointment is in store for them. It is a miistaken idea, and, in this world of stern realities, mistakes, however righteous, never succeed. The one great hindrance in the path of every progress is the existence of the British Government, and unless that is done away with, no results can be achieved in any direction. Among the volume of errors that a number of "politicians" had hugged to their bosom, there was the idea that the Government would not oppose an agitation for compulsory or mass education. But in March last, the Government made it clear in their Reformed Council that not only would they *not* lend their support to the movement, but would actually regard it as mischievous. It was openly expressed that mass-education was repugnant to the taste of the people and any attempt to make it compulsory *would lead to mutiny*. What a pious fear!

But it might be supposed that at least in religious and social reforms there is no such desire. We might certainly obtain a free hand in those fields. For industrial and educational problems, however innocent in themselves, partake after all, of a political aspect. But religion — what on earth has it do with politics and Government? This surely is a proper sphere to move in before we meddle with politics. But we are prepared to show that this notion

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is no way less absurd than the two dealt with before. As however the subject is very large, we shall leave it to another issue, freeling sure in the meanwhile that our readers will arrive at the conclusion that the only way of redressing India's ills is to make India free.

14th January 1911.

M. Brieux on India and her People.

A French thinker's Views and Experiences.

We have much pleasure in recommending to our readers' attention the little book, entitled "Voyage aux Indes et en Indo-Chine," which has recently been published by Mr. Brieux, member of the Academy of France. Mr. Brieux is a prominent writer and thinker, and is called "the Apostle" by his people on account of his simplicity and uprightness of his life. His book does not pretend to be anything but "the simple notes of a tourist." We propose to cull a few passages from the book for the benefit of our comrades. We shall not discuss the opinions expressed by Mr. Brieux in the course of his reflexions on men and things in India. We wish to place his ideas before our readers without any comment on them. The problem of Indian emancipation is so difficult and the sociological difficulties in our way are so great that every honest thinker's advice is useful and serviceable. Mr. Brieux is not a supporter of any preconceived theories about India and its government. He seldom treats of politics. His views should therefore be patiently examined, even if we differ from him. On the present occasion, we have no desire to discuss them in any way.

Mr. Brieux's book abounds in picturesque descriptions of Indian scenery, festivals, temples and monuments from the immortal Taj to the "hideous" Clock-tower of Amritsar. We shall not pause to reproduce the impression of the tourist. We shall confine ourselves to the opinions on Indian society and politics pronounced by the sociologist.

The Taj.

It may flatter our national pride to learn that Mr. Brieux was fascinated with the Taj, of which he too speaks in the terms of rapturous praise. "This monument is the sublime song of grief and nobility and beauty. Thousands of human beings have laboured and suffered during long years and have used up their lives for the sake of a single person's passion. But one need not be sorry for it, as their work is the most beautiful, the purest and the chastest glorification of love that has ever been realised. (page 297).

The Upanishads.

Mr. Brieux is equally enthusiastic in praise of our philosophy, which has consoled and comforted so many great-minds. Speaking of the great philosophers of the Upanishads, he says: "The noble minds of India, without having had the necessity of having recourse to experimental science like us, discovered the truths which we discover after them. By the unaided power of meditation, they have given an explanation of the universe which appeared ridiculous to us for a long time but which our scholars are now beginning to accept."

Our Women.

Mr. Brieux has paid a graceful compliment to our women in his notes on Delhi. Says he, "These women whom we have passed on our way back, do they themselves know that they are pretty? They bear on their heads, in an antique and magnificent manner, earthen and brass pots, which are held in equilibrum by their arms encircled with silver. Their naked feet, on which shine rings of silver, raise the dust, which appears guilded in the sun and gives them the appearance of walking on a cloud. Their dark, eyes strike the passers-by and with their white teeth they hold a corner of their red scarf which is a little swollen by the wind. One is glad to have the eyes to see!'; (page 319) Mr. Brieux makes us home-sick n'est-ce pas?

But apart from the beauty of our temples and mausoleums, our landscapes and our women, and our ancient philosophy Mr. Brieux does not find much that is great or inspiring in modern India. He attributes our present torpor to our climate and popular religion. Here are his forcible words:

The Climate.

"These people think of nothing but gesticulations of prayer. It can be explained by the climate of the country in which they live. Everything there is excessive and contradictory. Life is easy. There is no need of shelter or clothing, almost no need of food. One has nothing to do but dream. Besides, all physical exertion is impossible during six months of the year. A moist and hot torpor envelops everything. Then one dreams, of what? of cataclysms. This country which appears so good for men, is sometimes overhelmed with frightful calamities. There men die by tens and hundreds of thousands under the lash of terrible scourges like cholera, the plague, leprosy and famine. One can see what kind of gods can be created by these enervated imaginations. during long days of forced idleness, when the contemplation of one's own navel constitutes an action and when the remembrance of past disasters and the fear of epidemics, of collective mortality, of the great blows of death's sickle in the field of humanity, are materialised in a manner with which we are all familiar. It is from this source that metaphysics and the condemnation of all effort have emerged — at once complete despair and the belief in metamorphosis."

The Popular Religion.

Again, Mr. Brieux bursts into an indignant anathema against the popular religion of the country:" In reality these human beings, who attend to nothing else but the performance of these religious ceremonies, are the least religious of mankind. Of all God's human creatures, they are the most destitute of sentiments, of the soul, call it what you will. But one may reply that these men have lived in this part of the earth for 15 or 20 or perhaps 30 centuries, acting in this manner, and they continue it still. What then? No, numbers prove nothing. Living under a sky as beautiful as that of Greece, this people have not been able to find Beauty. They have been in contact with her and have retained nothing. They have known Buddhism and have not been worthy of keeping it. Their gods are grotesque. The emotion which they demand from the shapes which they make is fear. And what fear! And by what means! It is here and here alone that there is a goddess of smallpox! I know that there are the Upanishads. But I am now concerned with the religion of the masses, not with the philosophy of the original thinkers.

Seldom, never indeed, has the work of the debasement of a whole race been accomplished with so much success! The English can remain tranquil: others have worked for them in a solid fashion (Rarement—jamais! — on n'a aussi bien réussi dans l'entreprise de l'abrutissement d'une race Les Anglais peuvent être tranquilles: on a travaille pour eux et de façon solide). I believe firmly that the moral level of a nation can be measured by the respect which it has for woman. Nowhere else on the face of the earth is she such a victim as here. . , All the rights are for man. . . There is no solidarity. Each village, each house, each individual has separate gods. If any misfortune befalls a person, he has made a mistake in the performance of ceremonies. He should settle the matter with his gods! There are three hundred million persons, I tell you that these people are mad. It is impossible to have any other opinion about the matter while taking a morning walk on the banks of the Ganges." (Il y en a trois cent millions. Je vous dis que ces gens-là sont fous! Il est impossible d'en avoir une autre opinion pendant une promenade matinale sur le Gange) page 261.

Stray Impressions.

Mr. Brieux has interspersed the book with ffne touches of description. He pays a deserved compliment to the enlightened Maharaja of Baroda; who, he says, is anxious to know more about France and her people. He refers several times to the sadness of the Indian people, especially in the south and the east. He speaks of the palaces and the forts of Oodeypore as "the work of the magnificent despots, who wished to protect themselves against the heat, the infidelity of women and the invaders".

He was often vexed at the rule which prohlbits non-Hindus from entering Hindu temples, and he complains of it most pathetically. He says "If I am born again, as these people believe, I should wish to travel in India on foot at the age of 25, disguised as a Hindu".

With which beautiful dream of the poet's imagination, we leave Mr. Brieux and the reader to confer together through the medium of the very interesting and suggestive book which should be read by all who have access to it.

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THE Bande Mataram

Monthly Organ of Indian Independence.

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.
(*Gautama Buddha*).

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Shri Guru Govind Singh's Invocation to the Sword.

(Vichitar Natak).

[No more inspiring piece of literature has ever been produced than this magnificent Hymn to the Sword in which the religion of heroism has been fervently preached by one of its most valiant devotees. For the benefit of those of our readers who have not heard it chanted in the original Gurmukhi, and for those who do not understand that language, we give an English translation, in which, however, the rhythm and vigour of the original are not to be expected.]

I bow with love and devotion to the Holy Sword.
Assist me that I may complete this work.

Thou art the subduer of countries, the destroyer of the armies of the wicked, in the battlefield Thou greatly adornest the brave.

Thine arm is infrangible, Thy brightness refulgent, Thy radiance and splendour dazzle like the Sun.

Thou bestowest happiness on the good, Thou terrifiest the evil, Thou scatterest sinners, I seek Thy protection.

Hail! hail to the Creator of the world, the Saviour of creation, my Cherisher, hail to Thee, O Sword.

I bow to Him who holdeth the arrow in His hand; I bow to the Fearless One;
I bow to the God of gods who is in the present and the future.

I bow to the Scimitar, the two-edged Sword, the Falchion and the Dagger.
Thou, O God, hast ever one form; Thou art ever unchangeable.

I bow to the Holder of the mace
who diffused light through the fourteen worlds.
I bow to the Arrow and the Musket,
I bow to the Sword, spotless, fearless and unbreakable;
I bow to the powerful Mace and Lance
to which nothing is equal.
I bow to Him who holdeth the discus,
who is not made of the elements and who is terrible.
I bow to Him with the strong teeth;
I bow to Him who is supremely powerful,
I bow to the Arrow and the Cannon
which destroy the enemy.
I bow to the Sword and the Rapier
which destroy the evil.
I bow to all weapons called Shaster (which may be held)
I bow to all weapons called Aster (which may be hurled or discharged).

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Thou turnest men from blades of grass into mountains; than Thou there is none other cherisher of the poor.

O God, do Thou Thyself pardon mine errors; there is none who hath erred like me.

The houses of those who have served Thee are all seen filled with wealth.

In this Kal age and at all times there is great confidence in the powerful arm of the Sword.

---

which in one moment destroyed millions of demons like Sumbh and Nisumbh;

which in an instant subdued demons such as Dumarlochan, Chand, Mund, and Mahikh;

which in a trice repelled demons such as Chamar Ranchichhar, and Raktichhan

what careth Thy slave since he hath found a good Lord like Thee?

---

which crushed millions like Mund, Madhu, Kitabh, Mur, and Agh;

They who never sought shelter in the battlefield and who retreated not even two paces, when blows were dealt around them,

The demons who could not be drowned in the sea, and who could not be burnt by fiery arrows,

On beholding Thy flash, O Sword, cast aside shame and fled.

Thou in a moment did destroy such heroes as Ravan, Maharavan, Kumbhkaran.

Meghnad and Akampar, in waging war with whom even Death grew wearied

Kumbh, Akumbh, who having conquered the whole world washed their arms in the seven seas.

They who were invulnerable and huge were all wounded and killed by the Sword in the hand of God.

If anyone flee to save himself from the Destroyer, say in what direction shall he flee?

Can man run away from God who stoppeth him with a drawn Sword thundering and brandishing it?

No contrivance hath been made by which he may escape from the wound God inflicteth.

Why, O fool!, seekest thou not cheerfully the asylum of Him from whom thou canst not escape?

DESHBHAKTA SAVARKAR.

From the following item of news which we reproduce from the *Panjabi* of 29th June, our readers will learn that Savarkar is gone to the Andamans to undergo his double life-sentence as a reward for his labours on behalf of his country!

Savarkar who was sentenced to transportation for life on various counts for complicity in the Nasik Conspiracy was brought down to Madras on June 27 from Bombay and taken on board *S. S. Maharaja* bound for Andamans. His sentence expires on the 24th December 1960. The prisoner looks in excellent health.

The Pageant of Hindusthan's Humiliation.

The coronation of the English King has taken place safely. The representatives of English labour have often threatened that the crown should go into the melting-pot. English socialists have often dangled the fate of Charles I before the eyes of their king, continental anarchists have been for many decades the sworn enemies, in theory and in practice, of monarchy and all other constituted tyranny. Indian nationalists have longed for the cessation of the rule of the hated foreign tyrant who is Emperor of Hindusthan. Nevertheless the crown of Great Britain and Ireland and the dominions beyond the seas has been successfully placed upon the head of George V.

We do not at all grudge the English people their king, nor in spite of our sturdy and ardent republicanism do we care to deprive them of the "royal" shows where the vile and innate servility of their character finds an opportunity of displaying itself. We loathe to see any self-respecting man bow and scrape to a sin-besmirched and diseased despot whom force and fraud have raised to a mysterious eminence above his fellowmen; nevertheless it would be no concern of ours to trouble about the doings of the English people in relation to their king, were it not for the fact that their king is our tyrant, and that their nefarious and successful exploitation of our country has given them the audacity to prepare to send that tyrant to our sacred land in order to crush once for all, as they think, the nascent soul of the Indian people. We would willingly smash to atoms every golden crown that peoples have manufactured for the perpetuation of their bondage, but we would not waste our energies upon the British crown, were it not that our blood is stirred to holy passion when the English nation boasts of Hindusthan being the brightest jewel in the Imperial diadem. It is our sacred duty to wrench Hindusthan from that murderous boast and to that end we shall seek to destroy every foreign monarch who continues to be tyrant of Hindusthan and we shall shed as many gallons of blood as may be necessary for the attainment of our sacred purpose.

This is our duty and this our resolve. We shall not be deterred by failure. We have failed a hundred times in the past and may fail a hundred times again. But the oath that a nation swears unto its conscience fulfils itself with unfailing certainty. Nay, the oath that a single true man of a nation swears unto his conscience has in itself the potency to hurl thrones and tyrants to the dust and infuse the life-giving spirit of liberty into every muscle and fibre of a dying nation. The enslaved nation that has produced a Kanailal Dutt and a Madanlal Dhingra, and that has felt the thrill of their martyrdom has no cause to bury itsetf in despair.

Therefore, ashamed and disgusted though we are, we are not discouraged by the incidents of the recent crowning of George V from which we have gathered a foretaste of that pageant of Hindusthan's downfall and humiliation, which has been devised for December by the joint efforts of English tyrants and Indian slaves.

We have seen with disgust and horror shiploads of our countrymen arrive in London to witness with eager and joyous enthusiasm the mock-heroic, spectacle of pomp and splendour manouevred expressly for their further debasement. We have heard our countrymen and women extol the glories of the royal show, and we remembered in silent anguish that it was the grandmothers of these very women that had set fire to themselves and their homes and their children rather than surrender to the alien foe or acquiesce in his dominion. We have read with shame that the representatives of the Indian army" rode magnificently' in the triumphal procession of the tyrant, for the world to see that it was they who conquered their own nation and they who help to keep it in subjection. We have literally wept to think that every half-penny journal and every penny pictureshow published to our eternal shame how our bejewelled and gorgeously robed princes rode upon richly caparisoned horses as the lackeys of their Imperial "sovereign", and how the names that once coruscated brilliantly in the annals of Hindu chivalry, were dragged into ignominous contact with the dust. Yes, we have witnessed the whole pageant of scarlet and gold, and we have fully and keenly realised that that gold is the gold of Hindusthan, that scarlet is the scarlet of her children's blood.

All this we have seen and heard and felt, but we are not discouraged. Nay, our hopes run higher than ever, and we appeal to our countrymen to swear by the sacred blood of our fathers and mothers and brothers and sisters that has been shed for us that they will never rest till Hindusthan is avenged and rescued.

Hinduism and Political Assasination.

[It was on the 8th of July last year that our heroic comrade Vinayak Savarkar gained his liberty for a few minutes upon French soil only to be handed back to our enemies by the scurvy rascality of the degraded and corrupt French government of that day. He has gone from us, for ever perhaps, and we no longer have the benefit of his active cooperation, of his great abilities both as a sincere and untiring worker and as a writer of passionate and patriotic appeals to the conscience of our countrymen. But we have in our possession the following article which was written by him a few weeks before his arrest in London, and which we have pleasure in

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offering to our readers as the best means of celebrating the anniversary of his heroic escape. It ought to be stated that Deshbhakta Savarkar, in writing about the pre British history of our country, was obliged to introduce some amount of passion in his attacks upon the Moguls whom unfortunately we have got accustomed to calling Mohammadans. For it is an undeniable fact that the Mogul rulers of India were in reality enemies of Hindusthan and it was the duty of every Hindu to resist them. But as we have frequently pointed out, those who came to our country as conquerors have become our brothers, for all of us are now equally under the heel of the European tyrant. We have thought it necessary to make these remarks, because our countrymen are apt to import into our present mutual relations all the animosities of the past which we have really buried in our common graves of 1857. The lesson that Deshbhakta Savarkar wished to teach was that righteous killing is a positive duty no matter who the tyrant. The Hindu conscience having been blunted by cowardly and false interpretations of the Scriptures, it is necessary to give publicity to the ideas which Deshbhakta Savarkar embodies in his article.]

The Martyrs Chaphekars, Ranade, Madanlal, Khudiram, Dutt, Ullas, Barindra Ganesh, Upendra, all these are known to have been passionate followers of the teachings of Shri Krishna. Some of them went to the gallows actually with a copy of the Gita in their hands. These and many others such as Kanayalal and Prafulla have been zealous worshippers of the institutions of Raghunandan. Thus the brunt of the struggle during the last three years and more in Hindusthan has been borne almost exclusively by the followers of Hinduism. It was thus natural that those who just the other day had been declaring to the world that the Hindus were a decadent race and that Hinduism was an inert and dying organism, should be startled at the sudden and, according to their fond conception, spasmodic outburst of that dauntless persistence of the eternal faith which had been the terror of the tyrants of Lanka and Mathura and which still stands irresistible against the countless waves of Time. A lively controversy has set in as a result, in which the English press in India is attributing sedition, treason, anarchy and chaos to the teachings of Hinduism, while the Indian press, true to its slavish instinct and tradition, is denying vehemently any connection between the teachings of the Hindu faith and the Revolutionary idea and is trying its utmost to lay it down that Hinduism has ever been and shall ever be the pillar of loyalty to the English raj. At last, the Times of India has been charitable enough to come to a compromise and would issue a certificate of good conduct and a new lease of life to Hinduism if the Brahmins would immediately declare that Hinduism means anathema on the lives of those who are disloyal to His Majesty the Meccha Emperor of India. No sooner has this trumpet been sounded than the Rao Bahadurs of Bombay and the Dar-bhanga (Terror tossed) Maharajas of Darbhanga have been ransacking all the Srutis and Smritis to prove what the Times says must be proved. But fortunately for the Hindu world, there is still sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit and Hindu history outside the parlours and Zenanas of these grandees, to arrive at an independent conclusion and to derive inspiration by drinking deep at the very fountain of the Faith before its currents get muddy through the channels of cowardice and selfishness.

Whether Hinduism is opposed to anarchy or not depends entirely upon what is meant by the word anarchy. If the word means the destruction of all laws social, moral and political, the annihilation of the fundamental basis on which alone human society can live and move and have its being, and the reduction of man to the level of a brute which is left uncontrolled without an aim and without the discipline which an aim necessarily implies, then we say that Hinduism is most decidedly opposed to such an inhuman and brutal state of affairs. The Hindu writer of the first great epic of the world passed a stringent condemnation upon anarchy or Arâjakata when Europe had hardly thought of the difference between a herd and a society. Thus when Shri Ram and Luxman went to the forest and the throne was declared vacant, the people met in a hall with the sages and the cabinet, and it was decided to put upon the throne any one of the royal house and if need be even of any other house, for they held that a nation or society without a foundation of authority was like a circle without a centre. It simply can not exist. We have never come across a better picture of the dismal effects of anarchy in the above sense than what we find in the Ramayana where the great poet saint dedicates nearly 25 verses to the topic and ends in the telling statement that "Arajakata or Anarchy reduces man to the level of a brute and people eat each other like fish in the sea". The condemnation that Hinduism passes on anarchy or chaos is hardly more rigorous and unequivocal than what it passes on assassinations, murders and individual killing that corrode the very foundation of human society.

But Hinduism does not confound the righteous killing with the unrighteous one. It does not make an inpossible demand on human nature by expecting it to transcend its own limitations. It is as opposed on the one hand to an unjust and reckless annihilation of life at it is on the other, to an unjust and reckless preservation of it. Assassination when it is through individual grudge, when it is for the triumph of any wrong or untruth, when it is resorted to without trying to get redress through other methods though within human possibility-Hinduism calls all such unrighteous killing *hatya* and its charity is not restricted to humanity alone but extends to all the animal kingdom as such. There is no word in English or other western languages for Bhuta-Daya-charity to life in all its manifestations; for the idea of life is still restricted by the selfish instinct of the West to Man alone. Humanity is their highest moral synthesis; but of the Hindus Bhuta-Daya is the least, and *Hatya* of even a cow or a cat or an ant is held to be reprehensible. But Hinduism makes a distinction on a moral basis between a *Hatya* and a *Wadh*. The first is unrighteous killing and the latter a righteous one. The first is not sanctioned by the Dharma but the latter is. Whenever for the triumph of a truth, helpless and downtrodden under brute force, you cannot hope to succeed by any other method than the sword, then whatever blood is shed inevitably is rightly shed and it is a *wadh*. So the killing of Ravana is spoken of not as Ravana-Hatya but as Ravana-wadh, of Kamsa as Kamsa-wadh, of Kichak who was killed by Bhimsen in the dark as Kichak-wadh, of Shishupal as Shishupal-wadh.

These and other mythological references to prove the justification of so called political assassinations might be brushed aside as being mythological and therefore not as authentic as the events that are recorded in the pages of history. So we think it would be better to point out some incontrovertible examples in history when killing, because it was righteous, was not only not condemned but extolled as a Dharma Karya. It was Shri Ramdas who restored Hinduism from the religion of slaves to that of victors. He had been the spiritual guru of that personality in whom the valour, the grace and the pride of Hinduism found their fullest expression. What do this illustrious guru and his illustrous disciple say about political assassination? The story of that heroic deed, the killing of Afzul Khan by Shivaji is well known. In all the Mahratta contemporary histories, the deed is spoken of as Afzulkhan wadh and not as hatya. Then take the case of Shaista Khan who was attacked in his bed room by Shivaji in the dead of night. Disguised as a member of a marriage procession, Shivaji smuggled himself into the palace of the Shah and surprised him sword in hand. The Shah in that moment of danger jumped out of the window. As Shivaji struck him, only his fingers were chopped off, but his life was saved. The terror-stricken Shah never again assumed command against Shivaji. The treatment that was thus dealt out to the foreign foes in the land was extended with equal impartiality to cursed traitors like the Mores. The Mores were very closely related to Shivaji. But neither their relationship nor their Hinduism could save them from the doom of a traitor's death. Two of the best of Shivaji's lieutenants went to the powerful More, appealed to him in the name of the Mother, in the name of the Dharma and in the name of common interest, and when all these failed to dissuade him from helping the foreigner, then in the name of the sword! He was instantly suprised by the two visitors, and his head was cut off and the whole estate of the chieftain lay at the feet of Shivaji. No Marhattas, neither Shivaji nor Ramdas nor Tukaram, are said to have hurried to a Caxton Hall to hold a meeting of condemnation but on the contrary the two daring lietenants were raised to high rank and the most complete advantage was taken of their deed.

Maharashtra which has been ever known as the conservative and passionate worshipper of the Sanatan Dharma is, if possible, outdone by the protestant Church of Hinduism that was trying to do in the north what the Mahrattas did in the south, west and centre of India. The Sikhs are incontrovertibly a politico-religious body permeated with a deep and sublime vision of the Divine. Of that spiritual people Guru Govind was the greatest spiritual leader as he is one of the greatest Hindu nation-builders. Yet while

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fleeing in disguise after the battle of Chamkore he was on the point of being betrayed by two Mahomedans who under that threat, meant to extort money from the Guru. "Here is money!" said the Guru and as soon as the unsuspecting men came near with their greedy hands stretched out, the Guru's sword flashed forth and both of them were cut down in a moment. Space alone forbids us to refer to other instances to show how Sikh history abounds in righteous killing or Wadh, individual as well as collective. Take for instance the case of Mahtab Singh, the martyr of the Punjab. After the death of the tenth Guru and the Martyrdom of Banda Bahadur, the Mahomedans had once more occupied the Punjab, and Sikhs had to take to exile in Rajputana and the south. Mahtab Singh was also an exile in Rajputana.

One day a Sikh traveller came from Punjab and under a shady tree the exiles heard from him the dismal state of their Motherland, how Amritsar itself was the capital of the Mussa Sahib the Mahomedan chief, how in the very interior of the sacred shrine he had lodged his headquarters, how the Hari Mandir itself had to witness the unholy frivolities of the Mussa and his concubines! Inflamed at this, the five exiles tauntingly snapped out. "What then are the Sikhs doing in the Punjab? Have the lions too become lambs? The traveller retorted "yes, as some brave lions have fled to Rajputana so the rest too hide themselves elsewhere". "If but one of you will accompany me" said Mahtab stirred by the sharp retort, "I would in the name of the Guru bring the head of that Mussa and lay it before you". "I come with you. Mahtab" said Sukha Singh. The company left the two youths; the two youths mounted their horses and the horses galloped off. When the sun set they rode, when the sun rose they went into the forest. Thus marching concealed Amritsar was reached, the horses were tied to a tree, two bags were filled with small round pieces of earthenware, Mohomadan dress was donned and the two youths knocked at the gate of Hari Mandir, on thad midsummer day when there was a lull in the activity of the city. "We want to pay the revenue of the district and would like to see the Mussa to discuss state affairs." Money is sweeter than rest, and the two youths were admitted in and they found the Mussasahib rolling in the lap of his concubine in the very heart of the Hari Mandir.

The youths approached with humility to lay the bags of money before their lord and as soon as the greedy lord bent over the bags to remove them the swords were unsheathed. A hoarse suppressed "*wah guru*", a cut, a groan, and the head of the Mussa rolled down on the ground. Before the concubine tried to shriek she too was despatched, the two heads were tied in the two bags and the youths rushed out before you could count ten. To the horses, out of the town, in the jungle, and they came to the same tree that witnessed the oath and before the Khalsa the severed heads lay in the dust. Mahtab after some years was betrayed and killed on a wheel by the Mohammadans but he and his comrades are immortally enthroned in the Panthéon of the Sikh heroes, are blessed by their religion, are sung by their poets and held up as martyrs before their babes. This is the unmistakable verdict of the most important sections of Hinduism, the old church and the new, supported and sanctioned by the whole spirit of the Hindu race, Can the signature of all the twenty crores of living Hindus crush, cancel or deny the verdict of Sivaji and Govind. You can endlessly quibble with mythology but can you controvert a word of this solid historical judgment?

A righteous killing whether individual or collective is a wadh and it is as far removed from a Hatya as is swaraj or independence from anarchy or arâjakata And whenever we have used the phrase political assasination for want of a better one we mean it in the sense of Wadh or righteous killing, for even political assasinations when they are not righteous, when they are calculated to enthrone a wrong or are resorted to while other peaceful methods are at hand, are to be condemned as severely as are private assasinations. For murder is murder, political or other wise. If in the struggles of a general election in England some fanatical partisan stabbed the Prime Minister or the leader of the opposition, that action of his would be monstrous. For in England there is every chance to make your voice heard, your truths victorious, your national constitution readapted even by the removal of the monarch by peaceful means and without declaring war. Internationally speaking, a Frenchman stabbing a German though on political grounds is a criminal for they are in peaceful relation and continue to be so till a distinct state of war is declared and a notice to that effect given. For they are two nations living as such, having their respective organs to express their will and therefore bound by international laws. This will be Hatya though political. For Hinduism makes a difference between killing and killing, as in all departments of life, not on the numerical geographical or racial basis but on the moral one. But in India where the platform and the press can preach nothing but treachery and tyranny, where the whole nation is a vast prison and the foreigners guard its gates like sentinels of Hell there exists a state of war and all the blood that is shed by us unsullied by a grudge and for the noble ideal of the Mother's liberation is shed righteously. It is a Wadh, it is sacred in India and outside whereever such a state of war exists. In this sense and to this extent alone we hold killing as justified; "political" assasination as Wadh. With reference to the same thing Mazzini says "Most men feel as I do I express it."

VINAYAK DAMODAR SAVARKAR.

Oh! for the touch of a vanished hand
And the sound of a voice that is still!

Swadeshis,

I ask your permission to add a few lines to the above able article which almost comes like a voice from the other side of the grave. It comes from one who is gone from us perhaps for ever and whose sufferings and sacrifices can never be forgotten. Thank God his voice will not fall on deaf ears, because when the gilded slaves from Hindusthan were parading the streets of London as performers in the Royal Circus, and were prostrating themselves like so many clowns at the feet of the King of England *two young and brave countrymen of ours proved by their daring deeds at Tinnevely and at Mymensingh that Hindusthan is not sleeping.*

Many a young man and woman may be sitting with folded arms, looking vacantly and hopelessly at the degradation of their motherland, their brethren and their princes. But these two noble heroes and martyrs have announced to the world, just three days before the pantomime, that no show of military force or of wealth can frighten true patriots or stem the everflowing tide of the revolutionary movement. No tinsel flag carried by a filthy hand will reconcile the Nationalists to a foreign despotism for they will be true only to the flag of Bandé Mataram: the flag of just hopes and righteous aspirations.

The following the passages from London Daily News should open the eyes of the degraded Hindusthanis who glory in their servitude, and will show them how the Irish and the English ignored the "Coronation".

BANDE MATARAM.
Bhikhaiji Rustom Cama.

Daily News, 6th June 1911.

UNION JACKS BURNED.

Extraordinary Scenes in an Irish Town.

Extraordinary scenes were witnessed at New Ross, Co. Wexford, yesterday. The town had been lavishly decorated for a two days' Irish festival, and the banners displayed included a number of Union Jacks.

Last evening some young men tore down some of the Union Jacks and publicly burned them on the pedestal of the monument erected to the memory of the "Heroes of '98" amidst shouting and cheering. They also endeavoured to get people to take down the other Union Jacks displayed.

Daily News, 24th June 1911.

It had been taken for granted that the Coronation would bring together a greather multitude than had ever before been massed in the streets of London. That expectation was signally falsified. On neither day and at no point of the processional route, was the crowd so thick as it has been on several great occasions within recent memory.

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THE Bande Mataram

Monthly Organ of Indian Independence.

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.
(*Gautama Buddha*).

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BANDE MÂTARAM

AUGUST 17th.

Sacred to the inspiring memory of the patriot

MADAN LAL DHINGRA

who died for his country

AUGUST 17th 1909.

There is a whole religion in that blood. No power can exterminate the seed of liberty when it has germinated in the blood of brave men. Our religion today is still that of martyrdom; tomorrow it will be the religion of Victory.

Very few words are needed from us on the occasion of this memorable anniversary, for our own appreciation of the hero has been humbly recorded several times in the columns of this journal. Indeed, nothing that we can say can have the power and potency of his own magnificent utterance:

"I am proud to have the honour of laying down my humble life for my country."

He had written out a statement before proceeding to carry out his great deed. This was suppressed by the enemy, where upon the Revolutionary Party promptly issued it as a challenge. As there are probably some of our readers who have never seen the statement and others who have forgotten it, we republish it here in the hope that it may prove a source of encouragement and inspiration to all.

"I admit that the other day I attempted to shed English blood as a humble revenge for the inhuman hangings and deportations of patriotic Indian youths.

In this attempt I have consulted none but my own concience, I have conspired with none but my own duty.

I believe that a nation held down by foreign bayonets is in a perpetual state of war. Since open battle is rendered impossible to a disarmed race I attacked by suprise, since guns were denied to me I drew forth my pistol and fired.

As a Hindu I feel that wrong to my country is an insult to God. Her cause is the cause of Shri Ram. Her service is the service of

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Shri Krishna. Poor in wealth and intellect a son like myself has nothing else to offer to the Mother but his own blood and so I have sacrificed the same on Her altar.

The only lesson required in India at present is to learn how to die and the only way to teach it is by dying ourselves; therefore I die and glory in my Martyrdom.

This war will continue between India and England so long as the Hindi and English races last (if this present unnatural relation does not cease).

My only prayer to God is that I may be reborn of the same Mother and I may redie in the same sacred Cause till the cause is succesful and She stands free for the good of Humanity and the glory of God."

MADAN LAL DHINGRA.

If only we see.

The following occurs in the report of the Viceregal Council:

On the Council reassembling, Mr. Gokhale said he would like one or two points cleared up about the Council Rules. He referred to the rules and said if it was meant that the Hon. Members should point out how the proposals embodied in the Resolutions were to be carried out he had nothing to say. If however it was meant that Hon. Members should point out exactly how the particular sum proposed was to be saved, then all he could say was, that it was entirely beyond any non-official member of this council. Last year these motives were allowed, and at that time they had in the chair Sir Harvey Adamson who was the author of these rules and Sir Harvey would have ruled him out of order if his resolution was beyond the scope of the rules.

Mr. Jenkins who presided said *that if a mistake was made last year they were not bound by it for ever.* What he meant to say was that a Resolution should have a purpose and ought not to be used as a *device* for raising questions unconnected with the Resolution. The Resolutions ought to be *an evidence of good faith* and should show that they were *really genuine* ones."

The two paragraphs quoted above give an illustrative example of what the reformed Councils are and how their work is carried on. Of late we hear rather frequently of these reformed councils and apologists are not wanting who declare that they are a stepping-stone to the full fledged Parliament which a future Morley is to establish in India. The Moderates regard the reformed Councils as the triumph of their political sagacity and it did not weary Wedderburn who presided at the Allahabad session of the so called National congress to refer to them over and over again. Those political sycophants who are so quick to forget wrongs and detect good made quite a demi-god of Lord Minto, the villain who brought on the scourge of the Press Act, who deported men for their honesty and love of country, who strangled the throat of liberty and whose hands were stained with the noblest blood of martyrs, simply because he happened to pas a measure by which these councils were granted to India. One of these mean panegyrists went so far as to propose erecting a pillar in Lord Minto's memory in the same fashion as, in the days of yore, the great Asoka perpetuated his edicts by his memorable pillar. The Minto pillar has thus to bear the everlasting impression of the gratitude of India for the blessing which he in conjunction with Lord Morley is supposed to have conferred upon her. Now we are not in the least afraid of Minto's memory being perpetuated in India by pillars or statues. India remembers those who are worthy to be rememberd although nothing in the way of the artistic heaping of stones has been done for them. And for the future Nationalist who will march with a victorous sword in his native land hacking to pieces the foreign beasts that had usurped the place that rightfully belonged to him, it will not be a very difficult matter to kick away and spit upon the stone work which was the joint product of distracted brains and sordid motives. Sivaji has had no pillars; even his tomb is in the dust; no historian has had a good word for him. And still his memory is cherished as lovingly as if his exploits were an event of yesterday. Rani Lakshmi Bai had no time to erect pillars, Vasudev Balvant, the Chapekar brothers, Prafull Chaki, Khudiram Bose, the intrepid Dhingra and Savarkar, none had hirelings to sing their praises and celebrate their deeds. On the other hand, rankest calumny has fallen to their lot. And yet will India ever forget them? The best claim to the gratitude of a nation is not good pillars but good deeds and we are sure that not the most partial view of Lord Minto's measure will be able to satisfy any one that his councils are a good deed in any sense of the term.

In the first place we have to remember one or two main characteristics of the English people. If there is any race in the world which is entirely devoid of the higher sentiments of the human heart, it is the English race. In the average Englishman, gratitude, compassion, civility, fellow-feeling, honesty, conscience, remorse and all the other better qualities of man will be entirely absent. The Englishman is a being devoted entirely to self and so long as the interests of the self are promoted he will never hesitate to do any act however wrong or base. The Englishman prospered in the world not because his virtues were high but because his morality was low. There is no creature more whining and humble than he when his adversary is stronger, but not even the most confirmed villain will be more unfeeling or ungenerous towards a foe when the foe is at a disadvantage. The Englishman will prostrate himself before you if you are stronger. But the moment he finds you weaker the aspect will change and you will discover him in his innate vileness of nature. In his weakness, there is nothing to which he will not degrade himself, in his strength there is no humiliation which he will not inflict upon you. That self-respect which makes men defiant in adversity, he will have none, and that nobility which makes men lenient in the hour of victory, he will equally not have. Being ready to debase himself too low he easily escapes being crushed down by disasters, and divesting himself of the least spark of pity, he generally exterminates the fallen foe. It is this peculiar combination of extreme cowardice with extreme hard-heartedness that has so far made the Englishman triumphant in the race of nations and if the Englishman has to be defeated the characteristic feature of his mind must be properly understood.

When the powerful Moghul Aurangzeb, was all supreme in the land and threatened to punish the offending East India Company, how did the Englishman cast himself before his feet and crave his mercy! It was quite possible for Aurangzeb to extirpate this band of rougues at the time and how good would it have been if he had done so! For did not the same Englishman enter his palace in 1858 and butcher the descendants of his blood before the very eyes of their old father? And is not his profligate and drunken sovereign going to celebrate his coronation at the very spot where the Englishmen of old licked the dust of Aurangzeb's feet? Oh what a travesty of fate! But it is not all the fault of the Englishman. We are mostly to blame. We shut our eyes to facts, we refuse to see what is manifest, we ignore what is patent before us. What wonder that we suffer?

Understand the double character of the Englishman and you understand all. It is not for nothing that Morley and Minto gave the reformed Councils. They gave them because they were cowards. And it is not for nothing that within a year of the grant, Jenkins is slighting the Indian members like mules. He slights them because he is a rascal. Show him force and the Englishman is a coward. Be humble before him and he is a rascal. The period of disturbance in India has always been contemporaneous with the period of favours; the period of disgraceful humility has always been coexistent with the period of slights. The "Mutiny" was immediately followed by the proclamation, the Poona "murders" were instantly followed by good plague administration and the bombs were forthwith followed by the expanded councils. The "Mutiny" was forgotten and the proclamation became an impossible charter, the plague murders became solitary, and a whole village was killed in the Punjab by inoculation, and as the bombs were going to be forgotten the Improved Councils also began to be shams. The words of Mr. Jenkins that if a mistake was made last year they were not bound by it for ever are not without significance. That is always the nature of an Englishman. He gives in when he is overtaken by fear, and when the danger is over and he feels his position once again safe his worse nature asserts itself and he begins to think that he has committed a mistake. A good act is never a duty with an Englishman; it is with him a mistake; and wrong, villainy, roguery, is in his opinion the correct behaviour. If he is terrified into being just, he will repent soon after and try to rectify the mistake. We constantly hear of the British sense of justice. But there is no such thing as that, for the British have not in the least any sense of justice. What is known as the British sense of justice is an empty idea conjured up into existence by the imaginative brains of fools and flatterers. The Britisher is never amenable to an appeal for justice. The ordinary code of right and wrong, the common notions of just and unjust, have no meaning for him. He knows only one force, the force of

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the strong arm; he obeys only one impulse, the impulse of fear.

It was deeply to be regretted that this phase of the English character was not sufficiently kept in mind when the political workers of three years ago agreed to abandon their aggressive propaganda and return to peaceful methods believing that the true way of salvation lay not in antagonism and violence, but in cooperation and submissiveness. Of course the delusive arguments of Mr. Gokhale and all other people of his type had much to do with this change of front. They are in the habit of claiming that their school of moderate politics has succeeded in the end, while the Nationalists have done nothing but brought trouble and misery over the country. Now Gokhale and other people of his creed do not certainly know what they are talking about. They are like children that know not their own father. Even supposing that the reformed councils are a blessing it is a mistake to think that Gokhales and Naorojis achieved them. Well, for the matter of that, Gokhales and Naorojis have been begging for the last twenty-five years. But when did the Government feel it necessary to make any concession to their demands? They begged and begged and begged, but the more they begged the more they were despised. It was only when the bombs and bullets ran through the spine of half a dozen tyrants and traitors, that the Government remembered that they must do some thing towards the people of India. It was not Gokhale that brought in the reformed councils, but it was Khidiram Bose. Other people do things and Gokhale, both fool and knave that he is, quietly takes the credit. Gokhale must thank Kanai Lal Dutt and Khudiram for giving him a seat in the council. No, it is not Gokhale that is the author of these reforms. For the real author you must either search the prison-cell or the gibbet's end.

The nationalists are said to have brought misery on the country. But no heresy is greater than to say that. The mistake lay not in doing the revolutionary work but doing it insufficiently. Even what little the nationalists did, forced the British Government to grant the reformed councils. But surely the reformed councils should not satisfy us. They may satisfy the ambition of a booby like Gokhale, for what after all may the swine want that are happy to roll in the mire? But we the nationalists have the hankerings of men, and like m e n we must satisfy them. If the work that had been begun by Tilak and Chidambaram Pillay, by Khudiram and Kanai Lall, had been kept up the country to-day would have been wearing quite a different aspect from the miserable spectacle it is presenting now. The enemy whose life-breath was taken away by the energy of the nationalists has again begun to gain assurance. He who was completely taken off his feet has again begun to feel surer ground. He whom Khudiram and Profulla rode as a nightmare has again begun to get a wink of sleep. Is this state of things commendable? To wound a snake and leave him alive means to invite certain death. Could a national insult be greater than that the chief of our oppressors should dare to visit India in the teeth of the Nationalist activity? Could he have thought of doing it two years before? Are there no "ghazis" left in India? Did Hemchandra go to life-inprisonment in vain? Did Savarkar preach before stones? See what the councils are. Judge whether the way to freedom lies through the councils or through corpses. See how the Indian members are handled; see what an unbearable indignity is poured upon them. It is not even one year since the council rules were made. Even the ink in which they were written has not dried. But Government has unblushingly begun to say that the last year's procedure was mistaken. As Gokhale pointed out, the rules were framed by Sir Harvey Adamson and he ought to know best what they meant. If he while in the chair did not regard a certain procedure as wrong, it could certainly be taken as correct according to the rules. But, no! Another president and another interpretation. And this narrowing of the liberties of the council members is bound to proceed until, as Curzon interpreted impossibility in the Proclamation promises, a president in the near future will interpret the council privileges also into an impossibility. Before the Surat Congress, the Moderates supposed that the Nationalists stood in their way of gaining the confidence of Government. But now that they have chalked out a separate way for themselves they have no complaint of the kind. And what is the result? Has the Congress achieved its long-cherished hope? Far from it. Instead of gaining the good-will of the government, it has begun to be openly scorned and derided. Formerly the Anglo-Indians used at least to dread the Congress. But now they openly tell the Congress-wallahs that there is no need for it. Look at the impudent Anglo-Indian pleasantry towards the Allahabad Congress. Read the Viceroy's equally insulting mockery in his reply to the Congress deputation. These would convince anybody that the Congress has not gained an iota of prestige by its being insulated from the Nationalist influence. On the other hand it has lost all i s former weight. Gokhale presumably relies upon sweet talk for the regeneration of India.

As he is the chief apostle of moderate language, and as there is no Tilak — thanks to the Burma Jail — nor any seditionist papers — thanks to the Press Act — to disturb the equanimity of Government, his success in the council can be taken as the best standard of what mild and sugared language can hope to achieve in that way. We have before us the full report of the latest sitting of the Council and we therein find these results. Mr. Gokhale moved that the amount of the new loan should be raised by two millions. The resolution was lost by 15 to 39. Gokhale moved that the railway expenditure should be curtailed. The motion was lost by 10 to 43. He then moved that the mint expenditure should be reduced. The motion was lost. Gokhale moved that the famine-relief fund should not be appropriated for the payment of debts. The motion was lost. Gokhale's resolutions on reduction of expenditure under salt and customs were negatived. Gokhale had to withdraw his next resolution about the scientific departments. Gokhale's resolution about the irrigation grant was negatived.

This then is the maximum of the success of sweet talking, that you cannot induce a single vote from the Government-side and have to remain content with the failure of every motion that you bring forward. The English are no fools. They are not going to be beguiled out of the Indian Empire by sweet talk. Thieves and robbers are never fools. Other people may be deceived by sweet words, but not they. The English took India to keep it. If you want it back, you must wrest it by the force of the arm and not of argument. When did a Council-argument induce a robber to return the spoils? This is the plain truth, as plain as daylight, but if only we cared TO SEE IT.

The Value of an Indian Traitor's Life.

In the course of the speech introducing the Indian Budget in the English House of Commons, Mr. Montagu, Under-Secretary of State for India, said:

"I should like to take this opportunity of expressing the deep regret that His Majesty's Government and the Government of India feel at the deplorable murder of Mr. Ashe, and to tender the profound sympathy of all concerned with the relatives of this promising officer".

Our readers are, of course, aware that the Indian Revolutionary Party removed, within the same week, two agents of the alien domination — one the Englishman Ashe in South India, the other an Indian traitor, a Sub-Inspecter of Police in Bengal. The above statement of the Under-Secretary's ought to make it once more clear to our countrymen that in spite of the fact that Indian traitors alone are the real support of the foreign tyranny, an Indian may be removed without any expression of sympathy from the tyrants whose cause he so treacherously serves; while if an Englishman, however worthless he may be, is done to death, not only is great indignation felt, and deep sympathy expressed with his relatives, but his widow is granted a munificent pension out of the hardearned pittance of the starving Indian ryot.

The moral is clear. We have done very well to strike down Englishmen, for we have thus given them fair warning that the inevitable war that lies between them and us has already begun. And we must continue to rejoice each time an Englishman is sent to his doom by some brave patriot. But we shall gain many solid advantages by devoting greater attention for the present, to Hindi traitors; their removal would paralyse the tyrants while at the same time their loss would not excite either their anger or their sympathy. We shall thereby undermine the rule of the alien, for we shall teach our countrymen to understood clearly the price they will have to pay for their treachery, and thus deprive the despots of the support they have got so accustomed to rely upon, Our comrades in Bengal have shown us the salutary effects of dealing with informers and with the Indian police. Let us extend their policy to all parts of Hindusthan until our countrymen are prepared to take advantage of the assassination of Englishmen on a large scale.

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More Official Lies about India.

Justice, 5th August 1911.

Mr. Montagu, the Under-Secretary for India, is an impertinent and ignorant young Jew, who owes his position wholly and solely to the weight of the money-bags behind him. His ill-bred impudence to Mr. Mackarness is still remembered. This third-rate person was thought good enough to lecture a handful of somnolent members when the Indian Budget was introduced into the House of Commons last week. Mr. Montagu talked down to the 315,000,000 of India with all the puffed-up superiority of his race, and, of course, recited the usual official lies as to the growing prosperity of Hindostan, the contentment of its inhabitants, and the beneficence of British rule. Equally, of cource, he treated the House to the hardy annual of a fudged surplus. The printed Memorandum, however, which was circulated admits that Indian commercial exports exceeded Indian commercial imports by £ 47,000,000. If proper allowance were made for freight, profit and insurance this commercial drain without return would run to considerably more than £ 60,000,000. To minimise this awful bloodsucking of our fellow-subjects the total imports of treasure are deducted. But there is excellent reason to believe that the bulk of this treasure goes into the Native States, who most certainly take also, for their 71,000,000 of inhabitants, much more than their proportion of the commercial imports. Beside this hideous drain of produce without return our petty improvements—all paid for by India, bear in mind—are quite insignificant. We rejoice to know that the real facts with reference to our ruinous domination are spreading throughout India, and that all the peoples of that great Empire are learning that until British rule is swept out of Hindostan there can be no hope for the 240,000,000 now suffering under our political tyranny and economic rascality. But the million sterling of their money to be spent on the King-Emperor's Durbar will no doubt convince even the starveling ryots that they are well fed! That is the Ministerial calculation.

Vive l' Egypt.

Muhammad Ferid Bey came out of prison on the 18th July; and was the recipient of numerous messages of congratulations. The Bande Mataram party does not rejoice so much for his release as for the following staunch and courageous words of his to his interviewers „Our policy, aims, and claims are fixed and unchangeable". Bravo Ferid Bey! You are a true son of Egypt! The enemy may make a gaol-bird of you, by sending you several times to prison; but you will be a living monument to your countrymen. Be sure, Ferid Bey, that the more you suffer the dearer you will be to them. and to your liberty loving Hindi Revolutionary friends.

BANDE MATARAM
Bhikhaiji Rustom Cama.

"Put not your trust in Princes."

Rajcoomari Indiraraj of Baroda was looked upon by everyone as a promising woman for her country's cause; and nobody ever believed that she would degrade herself by consenting to become a reproductive machine for the throne of Gwalior.

Her opportunities were far better than those of any Hindi girl of her age; because besides the education and the training she was given at home, she has been abroad several times to Europe and America, and she ought to have seen what part women play in National life in the west. She has lived in France, sufficiently to know that the French people are more advanced and happy without any royal child occupying the Bourbon throne and palaces. She must have read in history that the royal child which Napoleon Bonaparte produced was only rotten and died as an exile, at the unsympathetic court of Austria; and *again* the royal child which Napoleon the III produced was justly dragged and killed in the far away Zululand where he went as an intruder; while the royal child which James the II produced was persecuted all his life as the pretender!

Side by side let the young Rajcoomari look back on the history of Baroda State itself and see how the people are progressing, under the rule of her father (who was born and brought up in a simple home).

Let her remember that the noble queen, Ranee Luxmibai of Jhansi, has become immortal, through her bravery and patriotism, though she never bore any heir to the throne. It is a most disagreeable and difficult task for a woman to write against another woman, and particularly against a younger woman, *but* truth must be told at any cost and I hope that sister Indiraraj will see her way yet to get out of this marriage, before it is too late to mend and to repent. She knows that this Madho of Gwalior while he is courting her, has a living wife, weeping in his palace of Gwalior, at his negligence of her. How, Indiraraj, can you shut your eyes to the wrongs of another woman; a helpless woman who has to give her consent to him to take another wife, in order to produce a child which she could not give him.

"Look before you leap" Indiraraj of Baroda! Suppose you fail also in the same way; how would you like to see a third Maharani Sindhia entering the palaces of Gwalior? Your parents must also think over, in what a fix they put themselves by taking this step! What will be the position of Maharaja Sayajirao Gackwar and Maharani Luxmibai of Baroda in the history of Social Reforms of Hind? Should the Nation builders uphold such an infamous and savage custom of having several wives?

Some prattling fools may flatter you that your marriage has a political significance; but you know that no political movement is possible at the court of Baroda or Gwalior! You must understand that if there was any possibility of political movement through this union, then the English would have never allowed this match to come off. Take note, Indiraraj of Baroda, that as long as you stick to a mock-crown and mock-sceptre, you are perfectly useless to the sacred cause of Truth, Justice and Liberty!

If you marry a patriotic young man. *he is worth ten thousand puppets like Sindhia* and you will achieve a good deal for the emancipation of your country, *and above all for your sex*; while by joining your lot to a servile prince you are doomed to an ignoble and luxurious life which is not worth living; and the palaces of Gwalior will be the tomb of your talents and your happiness.

BANDE MATARAM,
Bhikhaiji Rustom Cama.

NOTICE.

Information has reached me that certain friends and countrymen desirous of obtaining copies of Deshbhakt Savarkar's book on "The War of Indian Independence of 1857", have sent remittances to various people and have received neither the books nor their money back.

I therefore wish to draw the attention of our countrymen to the fact that the book is to be obtained from me *alone*, and that the proceeds are devoted to the support of Deshbhakta Savarkar's family whose property has been confiscated by the enemy.

The price of the book is as follows:
Paperbound. — 10 francs (2 dollars).
Cloth bound. — 20 francs (4 dollars).
The following booklets can also be had from me:
Choose, O Indian Princes.
The Social Conquest of the Hindu Race.
Count Leo Tolstoi's Letter to a Hindu and *a reply to that letter by the Editor of "Free Hindusthan".*

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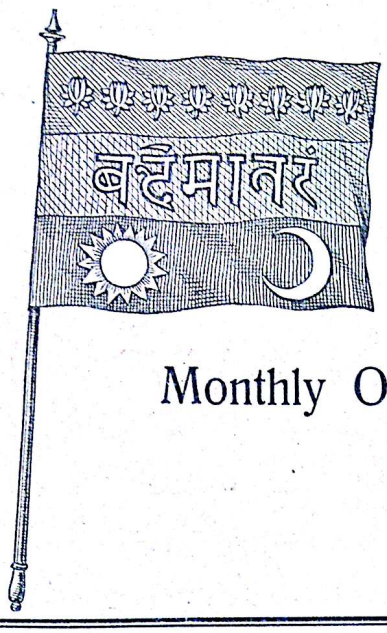
THE Bande Mataram



Monthly Organ of Indian Independence.

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.
(Gautama Buddha).

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All communications should be addressed to Madame CAMA, 25, Rue de Ponthieu, Champs Elysées, Paris (France).

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The Diwali Festival.

The Smaller and the Greater Diwali.

The Deepavaly festival has come and gone. It is one of the most ancient institutions of the Indian people. It is also one of their most beautiful festivals. It dates from the time of Prince RAM. For it celebrates the return from fourteen years' self-imposed exile of RAM and SITA and LAKSHMAN, when Ayodhya poured forth in her thousands to receive them, and all towns of Aryan India were iluminated in their honour. This event is commemorated year after year by the people of India, so that the names of the heroes and heroines of old should be transmitted from generation to generation. Thus the Promethen spark of social vitality is passed on from century to century, for the life of a people lives in its character and its character is moulded by its traditions and social institutions.

And yet Time has dealt cruelly with us. It has taken the spirit out of the festival and the old names awaken no echoes in our hearts. All India celebrates the Diwali. All house-tops and balconies glitter with lovely lamps, and all homes are bright with the light of love and joy. And the merry crowd passes in a never-ending stream before the shops filled wiih clay models of gods and goddess and sages and prophets, and yet this is not the real Diwali, for no one thinks of Ayodhya, where the English flag floats over the ruins of the glory of the Solar Sace. And no one thinks of the last scions of that race, who are vegetating in the lonely corner of Udaipur. And no one understands why the lamps shine and the cities are filled with shouting crowds.

And who celebrate the Diwali to-night? There are those who celebrate it in peace and joy, sitting at home with their wives and children around them, who see their happiness reflected in the faces of those whom they love, when eye speaks to eye and heart responds to heart. There are those who celebrate it in dark prisons to-night, where there is no light but the light of their pure souls and no joy but the joy of serving the cause of Freedom. And there are those who celebrate it in a far-away little island in the Bay of Bengal the cradle of liberty hallowed by the foot-steps of the saints, who suffer a harder exile than that of Ram, in which no Sita can go with them to lighten their sorrow and the end of which may not come in 14 years. And there are those who celebrate it in distant lands, pursued by the impotent rage of the British tyrants, under strange skies and among strange peoples, the devoted men and women who wander on the face of the earth in quest of the Holy Grail of Liberty, of which they have seen only a passing glimpse with their minds' eye. Yet the vision has fired their hearts.

And last but not least, there are those who celebrate it with tears and prayers, the wives and children of the saints of freedom, who are in dark dungeons or in the far-off isle in the Bay of Bengal or in the heavenly abode of the immortal heroes of humanity. And in their homes there is no light, and in their hearts is no joy. But the faithfulness of the wife is the crown of her suffering and the misery of the children is the golden heritage of glory bequeathed to them by the father. Thus all Indians celebrate Diwali, every one in his own way. Tell us, reader, who celebrates it most worthily? Whose offering is most acceptable to the gods?

But I see with my mind's eye a greater Diwali which is to come. As Ram and Sita were banished and came back, even so the exiles of freedom will return from the four corners of the earth, from Asia and Africa and America and Europe and from the little far-off islet in the Bay Bengal. And as Ram came not alone but brought with him allies from southern India and tributary princes from Lanka and fame and glory, even so we will not come home empty handed from our travels but will bring to our people the gift of freedom and great ammunitions of war and tempered swords and strong arms used to combat, and the friendship of the Irish, the Egyptians, and other nations of the earth. And as Sita went with Ram, so shall our sisters stand by side in our wanderings, and as Ram and Sita left Ayodhya because they loved truth; so have the exiles left their country because they would not tell a lie. Thus when the Ramas and Sitas of the New Age will return to India after achieving great deeds in foreign lands, they will receive a welcome a thousand times more loving than that which Ayodhya offered to Ram and Sita. And the greater Diwali will be celebrated when the land is sacred and fit for the holy feast. And the lamps shall be of burnished gold, and the purest ghee will feed the flame and they will shine on every housetop and every tower and every hill and every peak of the mountains that guard us and images of heroes and heroines will be seen in every square but not clay images as now — pure marble white as snow will enshrine the figures of our heroes and heroines, and the light of the lamps of burnished gold will be reflected from their faces into every corner of the land.

Thus will come the greater Diwali. They whitewash and cleanse the houses for this smaller Diwali. Cleanse your hearts, my comrades, for the greater Diwali, for no vile or ignorant man will share in it. It will be the festival of New India — of love and truth and joy. Prepare ye the way for it.

The above article for The Diwali Festival was written last year; by one of our ablest comrades. We published it, but it was too late to catch the right moment, therefore we reproduce it beforehand for this year's Diwali.

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Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God.

Swadeshis,

The Bande Mataram is entering on its third year with this number. This infant servant of the mighty Hindi Revolution will be kept up on the same line, always, though the writers and publishers may change from time to time!

I am glad to mention that it is growing fast; and more and more copies are printed and circulated.

With the beginning of this year, I want to try an experiment of which I have thought several times during the last two years, viz: to conduct it on a veritable co-operative system, by opening its columns to all Hindi men and women who wish to write.

My conditions are, that all the articles written, should be on the same lines and principles as this paper has been started. All contributions will be submitted to the committee; and may be published or refused. If the committee thinks that some change should be made in the article, it will be done, if there is no time to ask permission of the writer. However, the change will be limited to the omission of sentences or passages; but no additions will be made. Single words will not be omitted or changed in a sentence, without the greatest necessity, and never will any changes be made in the views of the writer. Let me assure you friends and compatriots, that I do take all the responsibilities, and you may write as strongly as you like. No writer's name will be published or ever given out (unless one prevers to sign one's article) and all manuscripts wil be destroyed as soon as the paper is out.

My Hindi sisters and brothers, though many an ocean may be rolling between us, yet we know that our hearts and aims are one and the same; so let us combine and back it with all our might.

Do not wait for any one rich man to come out and launch everything. Let each one give one's mite; and there will be millions for our holy war.

As Deshbhakata Savarkar used to say "*All men should put aside a certain amount annually for the cause, just like a compulsory tax. Dare they refuse to pay, wherever they may live, the heavy taxation of different governments? And the squeezing out by the English? Then why should they not give a fixed annuity for their country's cause?*"

To this sound advice, for men, I add one line for women; "Let each woman give up *only* one third of her Jewellery for nourishing the cause".

Men and women of Hindusthan! Your children will rear the edifice; if you lay the foundation with a little self-denial. What is the use of giving them money, which is to be taken out of the country by the foreign rulers, the English?

What better heritage can you leave them than a free and well governed motherland? Hindoos; I appeal to your sense of duty to take nationalism as your religion now, and to bury all your religious differences, and racial quarrels, in the common graves and suffering of such noble martyrs, and worthy patriots as Chappekar and Tilak, the Maharatas; as Profulla and Aravindo the Bengalis; as Aiyer and Pillay the Madrasis; and as Dhingra and Amba Prasad the Punjabees. With such sincere and brave men before you should take pride in calling yourselves Hindoos only; The Mahamadans and Parsees should follow in your footsteps and learn how to die for Motherland.

I also appeal to your patriotism to make the best of your stay in the West, by taking all kinds of physical training (which is not allowed in our country).

Above all *learn* how to shoot straight, because the day is not far when for coming into the inheritance of Swaraj and Swadesh, you will be called upon to shoot the English out of the land which we all love so passionately.

Unite, organise and advance!

Down with the traitors, tyrants, officials and capitalists!

The work is in the hands of those, who are in the land!

It is most true that we have suffered through false and fraudulent men; but remember that real gold comes out of the fire purified. So take heart; and look forward with determination to the future happiness of our country and people. The dumb millions must be awakened to the sense of their wrongs!

Friends, compatriots, Hindis, My only hope in life is to see our country free!

Night and day my thoughts are with you! My eyes are pining to see young Hind taking the steer and guiding successfully the ship of freedom on the turbulent waters of the revolution! Before my old bones are buried in a foreign land far from our country which I can visit no more let me hear the sound of the trumpets. God be with you Young Hind; as your cause is the cause of the just, your aspirations are legitimate and righteous, and your rising beneficial for all oppressed nations.

BANDE MATARAM.
Bhikhaiji, Rustom Cama.

TABLE TALK.

On National Education Between a Young Man and "Bande Mataram".

Young Man: — Sir, I wish to discuss a practical question with you. Let alone your theories of progress and freedom. I am a practical man. Now, what about national education? What about that, Sir?

Bande Mataram: — Well, what about that? Work on.

Y. M.: — How? Don't you know, that it is no longer possible to open and keep up a national school in India? The government orders every such school to be closed or to adopt the regulations of the official departments. This latter course, of course, makes the school useless and even pernicious from your point of view. Now, what is to be done? National education by means of schools and colleges is one of the four much-talked-of planks in the nationalist programme. But now can nothing be done? I think I have an idea. What harm is there in outwardly accepting the rules of the government and affiliating the schools to the University? That will keep the school open and you know we can do what we like with it. The teachers can tell the boys all our ideas. The magistrate is not in the class-room. Now, is that not a grand plan, worthy of a statesman? That would be out-witting the enemy indeed.

B. M.: — Not so fast, my dear friend; not so fast. Your words show that you have not understood the principles of nationalism. Answer one question. If I offered you a glass of milk and just put one drop of prussic acid in, would you drink it?

Y. M.: — Not I. It would be good beverage for a government servant?

B. M.: — Exactly. But why? There is only one drop of poison in a whole glassful of sweet milk. Why do you object to it?

Y.M.: — But that one drop counteracts the good qualities of the milk to such an extent that the whole becomes strong poison.

B.M.: Now tell me, is there not greater difference between truth and falsehood than between milk and prussic acid? The latter substances are both liquids and resemble each other in some other particulars, but truth and falsehood are as poles asunder.

Y.M.: — Yes. I understand; but you see, to do a great right-do a little wrong. That is my policy. What do you say to that?

B. M.: — But, how can you assume that right can come out of wrong? Now, tell me, can grapes grow on brambles or mangoes on bamboos?

Y. M.: — No, Sir; but this is not a botanical question. It is a practical political affair. As I told you, sir, I am a practical man.

B. M.: — Very well, Mr. Practical Man, now what should a practical man do? Should he not employ the best means to achieve a certain end? That is being truly practical, is it not?

Y. M.: — Yes, yes. Now, wrong leads to wrong and can never help the progress of justice. But, is that so?

B. M. — Yes, like produces like. Outward compliance with the demands of Tyranny in the hope of carrying on what may appear useful work always leads to disaster. Can your school-masters teach the text-books prescribed by the universities and at the same time impart to his pupils the spirit of nationalism?

Y. M.: — But you forget that he also tells them privately that the history he is obliged to teach is wrong and that he does so only to keep the school open. You see that puts matters right!

B. M.: — By no means, my friend. Now, tell me which is more important for national welfare — to keep a school open or to keep a conscience or a soul pure and honest?

Y. M.: — This is a difficult question. What did you say about soul? Now, Sir, what has nationalism got to do with all this? We have four great things like four pillars; namely, National Education, Swaraj, Boycott and Swadeshi. But coming to the point, a school is certainly an important thing. So many boys learn to love their country there. As to a man with a conscience well, if the schoolmaster does both things and obeys the rules of the government for the good of the Nationalist party, that won't do anybody any harm?

B. M.: — You have not answered my question. But now, I will ask you another. What do you want to teach in your national school?

Y. M.: — Why, all things, all things! Reading, writing and arithmetic, and the new system of kindergarten, too. And then there is literature and geology and biology and all that sort of thing, you know. And the most modern European methods should be employed; for instance the boys should not be beaten, and so on.

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B. M.: — But how will all that help nationalism now, in the absence of other subjects?

Y. M.: — Knowledge is power, as you have heard; and other subjects should be added, of course I don't object to that.

B. M.: — Shooting, for instance. What do you say to that?

Y. M.: — Well, that is nowhere among the four point of nationalism. "National Education" it says there; there is no mention of shooting. And what has that got to do with education?

B. M.: — So you think that a man or woman can be educated without learning to shoot straight? Well, my idea is altogether different. I believe that a person who is not proficient in the use of arms is only a half-educated savage.

Y. M.: — How is that, Sir? Surely that is astounding. Why, there is Mr. Gokhale and Lala Lajpat Rai and Mr. Banerji and Mr. Rash Behari Ghose, and Mr. Gurudas Banerji who wrote a book on Education and many others who are all graduates and learned men, but who have never perhaps fired a shot and who may not know how to pull a trigger. Are these men half-educated savages, then? Sir? Why, they are the best educated men in the country, the finished products of university education of the highest type. M. A.'s and LL. D's and all that!

B. M.: — I am not influenced by big names. If these gentlemen do not know how to use arms, they are not educated. Now, tell me what education is for.

Y. M: — Everybody knows that. It is to fit a man to do his duty towards himself and others by developing his body and mind and conscience and so forth.

B. M.: — Exactly! Now, can a man who does not shoot assist in the defence of his country or protect his home, or help a weak neighbour against a bully?

Y. M.: — No, he can't do that. But, all the same, you can't say that a graduate can be called an uneducated person. That is not possible.

B. M.: — Stop a moment. You say that education means development. Now, if a man were to cut off his hands, would that be a step forward in his education?

Y. M.: — No, not at all. That would be exactly the reverse. For, he should make his hands strong and muscular in order to use them in the right when opportunity presents itself.

B. M.: — Now what is the use of arms but an extension of the power of our hands to strike? You see hands are used for eating, writing, threatening with clenched fists, and also for striking or beating. Now, when a father slaps his boy for disobedience or when a man strikes a thief with his hands, that is a proper and admirable use of those organs.

Now we must make our hands capable of doing the greatest good in this direction by "educating" them or, in other words, by giving them exercise and teaching them to handle weapons of defence and offence. In ancient India proficiency in the use of arms was considered as an essential part of the education of all Aryan youths, as we learn from the Mahabharata.

Y. M.: — Yes, Sir, that is true. A man who does not know how to shoot is a sort of stunted, dwarfed, uneducated man just as one who has not studied mathematics or logic or literature has an undeveloped mind. I see your point now.

B. M.: I am glad you do. Now as to other subjects, what do you say to love of principle. Should that be taught also?

Y. M.: — Yes, by all means. Principle is the life and soul of all movements.

B. M.: — Now, how do you justify the practice of hypocritical compliance with the dictates of the government in order to keep the school open? You see you have said that Love of Principle is one of the main subjects to be taught and it is more important than arithmetic or composition. But how can a teacher who starts with violating his principles teach that virtue to others? The school would then defeat the very object, if it is kept open as a result of denial of principle. So, the end which is sought will not be attained. Is that what you call being practical — sacrificing the very thing you want?

Y. M.: — Let me see. Here is a dilemma, I admit. The boys can't learn love of principle, if the teacher pays a double role from whatsoever motive it may be. There you are right. But why have you singled out these two subjects? Boys can learn arithmetic and caligraphy and geography and other things at the school and shooting and love of principle may be learnt elsewhere. At any rate, the school can serve some good purpose.

B. M.: — I have chosen these two subjects, because they represent the life and soul of society, the essential elements of its vitality. You have yourself said that principle is the soul of every movement and the movement for Freedom is the life of society. For, a nation or community can live without arts or ornaments or philosophy; but it cannot live without a free national government. Now, if nationalism is the life of society and principle is the life of nationalism, then love of principle, and especially the principle of Freedom, is the very basis of society, — the necessary condition of its existence as an organism. And freedom cannot be maintained unless the citizens are willing and able to fight for it at all times. So, you see where shooting comes in! A community can dispense with orators and botanists and poets, but it cannot exist without soldiers. So, these two subjects are the most important in any educational programme. If you have a school where they are not taught shooting but where geology and palaeontology and other sciences are studied, you are like a man who does not give his children bread and dhal and ghee but buys ornaments and books for them. Do you follow me?

Y. M.: — Yes, I think I do. You mean that love of principle and military exercises are the greatest requisites of national life. And the principle which should be most prominent should be that of Independence. I agree with you entirely.

B. M.: Now, your school is useless for these two things. Nay, it is even mischievous, as by setting an example of hypocrisy in political matters the teachers undermine what love of principle they may have possessed when they entered the school. So, such a school would injure the country and our movement.

Y. M.: — It is true. But what do you mean? What shall we do when we close the national school if we cannot teach our ideas by its means. The schools have cost much labour and money, and the boys thought that they would go on. Why not follow the line of least resistance like a practical man?

B. M.: — You are very funny, my Young Friend. I have just shown you that a practicial man should have nothing to do with a school that is in any way under the government influence. Why do you forget that?

Y. M.: — Yes, yes. But what is to be done? We were told that freedom would be secured only after the sound national system of education had been established for the instruction of our boys in nationalist ideas. Now the cause is ruined and there is no way out of the difficulty!

B. M.: — He who told you that a national system of education covering the whole country was necessary for freedom put the cart before the horse. Such a system will come after we are independent. How can it work while the alien stalks the land?

Y. M.: — But what should be done? Where shall we be without national schools? Now, we can't have them. That is terrible!

B. M.: — By no means, my Friend. Look around you. Afganisthan is free. Russia is not only free but ranks as a great power; Turkey boasts of a vast empire; but none of these countries possess many schools. England fought Napoleon in the early years of the 19th century, but only one in ten could read or write. Education was not universal in England before 1870. On the other hand, Burma has so many schools that there are very few illiterate persons there; but it is one of the most abject countries in the world. What is wanted is not schools but those two things — love of principle and shooting. Why are the Afghans free, though there are no LL. D's and Senior Wranglers among them? Simply because each Afghan can shoot straight and loves the principle of freedom so much that he is ready to die for it on the field of battle. You can make your peasants like the Afghans by other means than national schools, if these latter cannot be carried on now.

Y. M.: — No, not at all; because one cannot always remain a boy.

B. M.: — Exactly so! Schools and other things which were useful at one stage for our purpose are not required now. We have advanced. For instance, we used to have big demonstration; but we have very few now. Does that mean that we should regret it? No; for, these are only the means, the instruments of nationalism, and when some instruments have failed others are used. Don't pin your faith to any particular instruments — all are useful by turns.

Y. M.: — I don't know what it is; but, somewhere behind my mind, there is a doubt. Can a brave people who can shoot well win their freedom only by these two means which you have indicated, namely Principle and Shooting? Surely there must be something else. Yes, I think I can give an example too. You remember the Sudanese were herioc and fought well; but they were conquered by Kitchener. So too, the Moors do not lack bravery or weapons, but they cannot achieve any permanent triumph over Spain though they may win one or two battles. Surely, you know of many other cases. My objection to your argument is supported by these instances.

B. M.: — You are right, my Friend. The Romans conquered all the barbarous tribes one by one, though the latter possessed both things, namely Shooting and Principle. But you have forgotten that I said that this was sufficient for the masses at present. I was careful to mention the words, Peasants and Masses. As for the upper and middle classes, regular education by means of schools is necessary for the success of nationalism.

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Y. M.: — Well, Sir, I don't think much of the Afghans. Thy are a barbarous people. They have no universities and learned men.

B. M.: — And is not a living ignorant people better than a dead learned race? Which do you prefer, Liberty with a rough-and-ready life or Slavery with oratory and philosophy? Is a poor man who is free worse than a prisoner who wears golden fetters and is awakened every morning with sweet music?

Y. M.: — Oh! No. I forgot that thing about the freedom of the Afghans. So, you mean that we should not bother about too much learning for the nation just now, as universal education by means of schools is not possible without a national state, and that we should fire the people with a love of freedom and teach them to fight and shoot? I must say that this looks like a practical programme. And, as you said, the Russians are not a literate people but they are a great nation. And, I have read somewhere that the Athenians were also illiterate. Is it not so?

B. M.: — Yes, they were. So, you see that an elaborate system of popular education, with ten classes and benches and examinations and headmasters and assistant masters, is not at all necessary for our freedom now. That will all come afterwards.

Y. M: — Then, we need not be sorry if we have to close the schools because we cannot compromise our principles. And yet the idea gives me so some pain.

B. M.: — That is because you have been accustomed to one set of ideas. Now, tell me, when you were a little boy, you had a small coat which you had to put away after you had grown up; were you sorry to part with it?

Y. M.: — Why do you make this distinction?

B. M.: — In all well-organised societies, there are two classes of men: the Leaders and the Rank and File. The men who possess wealth, intellect or force of character or moral influence lead the society. They have greater responsibities than the others. From among them are chosen statesmen, generals, ambassadors, professors, members of parliament, captains of industry, journalists, etc. In the army too, there are soldiers and officers. Now, the leading classes in India require a thorough overhauling, — moral, intellectual, and physical — before we can become free. And, the sons and daughters of these classes must be educated systematically and on the most approved lines as in Europe.

Y. M.: — Yes; think so too. Now, I see why Russia is powerful though the people are ignorant.

B. M.: — Yes, there you have an excellent object-lesson.

Y. M.: — The Russian peasants have only two virtues. They fight and love their country. But, the upper and middle classes who manage the business of the state and lead the stroops in war are in every way equal to the leading classes of Europe. You see, government is an art and must be learned laboriously. Military officers must also be trained. Everyone who loves freedom and can shoot well cannot be an officer. And without officers you cannot win a battle. Similarly, political leaders and statesmen cannot come from among an ignorant people.

Y. M.: — That is true. That is really the difference between Russia and such countries as Morocco and the Soudan. Now, how are these classes in India to be educated? There can be no schools run on our lines within India itself!

B. M.: — The world is vast, my Friend; and it will be necessary to send our young men abroad for military and political training. There should be a college in Europe where they should be taught all that modern civilisation means — literature, history politics, mathematics, etc. And they should join military academies in various countries; or we can have a military school of our own under foreign masters in France or Switzerland. Young men go abroad to learn tanning and soap-making and such subjects. Why should they not come here and learn the noble arts of government and of war, on which all industry depends.

Y. M.: — That is a grand plan. But perhaps we can have a school for liberal education within India, though we can't have a military school there. Look at the Gurukula. It is going on and there is no government influence.

B. M.: — Don't you know how its managers tell horrible lies and demean themselves to prove to government that they are not political? Men who show so little love of principle forfeit their right to take charge of education. They are always flattering government and asserting that they are quite happy in their servitude. You would not run a school like that?

Y. M.: — No, never! We must look abroad for the future. The idea of having a national college in France or Switzerland to train our future statesmen and warriors for the Revolution is excellent.

B. M.: — So, you understand that for the mass of the people the virtues of the soldier are required, and schools are not necessary. For other classes, the virtues and attainments of leaders are necessary, and educational institutions must be established outside India. That is the solution of the problem. Now, do not give way to despair, but go and set to work.

Y. M.: — Yes, I will. I see the whole situation. Thank you very much. Some other time, shall discuss other questions with you.

B. M.: — I am always at your service. Good-bye!

Y. M.: — Good-bye!

Sirdar Ajit Singh.

It is with the greatest pleasure that we are able to announce to our readers the safe arrival of Sidor Ajit Singh in Paris. The remarkable manner in which he and the old veteran patriot, Sufi Amba Prasad, escaped from India after warrants had been issued for their arrest and when the police were very active throughout the country, is another achievement which we must place to the credit of the Hindi Revolutionary Party. Notwithstanding the extreme severity of repression and the increasing treachery of our countrymen, the Hindi Revolutionaries have succeeded in showing some definite and promising work during the past year. We have but to recall the wonderful feat of comrade Savarkar, the successful escape of comrades Ajit Singh, Amba Prasad and Arabinda Ghose and the removal of two odious men quite recently, to feel that though the work of the revolution is proceeding by slow stages it is nevertheless advancing most surely towards a brilliant consummation.

We most heartily congratulate Sirdar Ajit Singh on his safe arrival, and we trust that after a period of rest to recover his health which has suffered considerably under the trials and privations of his secret journey through disturbed Persia, he will resume that excellent work for which he has become so well-known.

England Violates the Mails.

"Gaelic American" 9th Sept. 1911.

It seems that the British Government having succesfully contested the right of Indian political refugees to asylum in foreign countries, has been going a step further and been violating foreign mails in transit from America and Europe by British steamers and trans-India railways to French-Indian colonies. A flagrant instance of this, which occurred some time ago, of the confiscation of letters and newspapers to and from French-Indian colonies in transit in charge of the British-Indian post office authorities is now, we understand, engaging the attention of the French Foreign Office.

Information reached THE GAELIC AMERICAN early in the year of what was going on in the mail rooms of British-Indian steamers between Brindisi in Italy and Bombay in India, in the way of opening and confiscating letters and papers in transit. This information came from persons who actually saw what was done by postal officials who were unaware that they were under observation.

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BANDE MATARAM.
Bhikhaiji Rustom Came.

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THE

Bande Mataram

Monthly Organ of Indian Independence.

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.
(*Gautama Buddha*).

Vol. III. GENEVA, October 1911. No. 2.

All communications should be addressed to Madame CAMA, 25, Rue de Ponthieu, Champs Elysées, Paris (France).

This journal is supported by voluntary contributions. There is no fixed subscription.

Tripoli.

Moslems of Hindusthan.

One cannot help feeling shocked at reading the reports of your meetings in Londen and Calcutta, where you appealed to the English hypocrites to interfere on behalf of the "Young Turks". You forget that England will be the first to wish the downfall, if not the destruction, of the Empire which Moslems of all colours and climes always look up to. There is no use of mass meetings save just to pass resolutions of indignation. There is only one way and that is to prepare yourselves to fight these thieves out of Asia and Africa; and untill then to bide your time in determination.

The world has once more seen what it has often seen before; the fall of Tripoli was not due either to lack of courage or of strength on the part of the Orientals. It was as usual due to the want of advanced scientific instruments of war. Alas! The shots from the old Turkish guns fell too short of their mark; all communication was stopped by the cutting off of the telegraphic wires; the Turkish Navy was not worth the name. On the other hand the Italians were equipped with the best of every thing: dreadnoughts, Maxim-guns, wireless apparatus, aeroplanes etc.

Friends, countrymen. Hindi Moslems! You should certainly make better use of your youth and energy by studying how to make and how to use all these weapons, rather than write and wire appeals to the English to interfere. Do not waste your precious time in reading for Law and Medecine in England. Believe me, Hindi Moslems, you have fallen into evil hands. Shake yourselves free from the trammels of foreign yoke. Awake, arise before it is too late!

My brethren, you were keen enough to hold meetings and pass resolutions of prayer to the English people. You ought to have also been keen enough to pass resolutions to offer yourselves as volunteers to Turkey to protect the honour of Islam and the Moslem world. You ought to have remembered the example set by Imam Pasha of Yemen, who not only suspended hostilities, but on the other hand offered 100,000 soldiers to fight for the common cause. *That* would have been more manly and more in consistence with your ancestral traditions.

BANDE MATARAM.

Bhikhaiji Rustom Cama.

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We have great pleasure in giving below the translation of a Tamil pamphlet which we have received from southern Hindusthan. It was addressed to the pilgrims who had assembled at Madura to witness the annual festival at that sacred place of pilgrimage.

An apt word for Aryas.

Friends, brethren and Aryas,

You have come here to this sacred place of pilgrimage to pay your respects at the holy shrine. Your minds are now purified. Hence kindly read with a little attention the following few lines which aim at the well-being of you, your children, your friends, your relations and your country.

Dear friends, please ponder for a while, over the present state of our country. You may probably think what connection there is between a place of pilgrimage and our country. The *Vedas* say that the mother who gives birth to you and the Motherland in which you are born are far more sacred than Heaven itself. Is it not our country that is full of sacred places like: — Kasi, Kanchi, Dwarka, Hardwar, Hrishikèsh, Muttra, Srirang, Kèdarnath, Chidambar, Tirupati, Ramèshwar, etc., the very names of which we mention with reverence, when a child is born, or when a person is dead? Is it not our country that is garlanded by rivers like, Gangajee, Jumna, Godaveri, Saraswati, Narmada, Sindhu, Cavèri etc.? Is not our Motherland, the land where Shri Ram ruled so gloriously? Is not our Motherland, the land where Shri Krishan lived and ruled? Such a land as this, is it prosperous? Do its people live in comfort without being a constant prey to unavoidable and untimely deaths? Does virtue reign in that country. Which Arya will say that it is not his duty to enquire into these matters?

Hence, my countrymen, kindley think over the present state of our Motherland.

Plague.

The plague has taken permanent abode in our country. Last week, 42,700 men died of plague in our country. Alas! In seven days, so many men, so many Aryas, have died of this pestilence. Please do not think that it was so during the last week only. Our men die of this dreadful disease at the average rate of 40,000 a week. During the last fifteen years our brethren have been dying at the rate of 1,500,000 per annum.

Famine.

As regards famine it has begun to be a permanent visitor to our country. In our country — in our country which was once considered to the real paradise on land — there are 80,000,000 people who, not having enough to eat, are permanently hungry. During the forty years from 1860—1900, 30,000,000 people have died of famine. During the ten years from 1890—1900 alone, 20,000,000 people have died of famine. Crying for bread, their bodies being famished and reduced to skeletons, their beloved children starving and perishing before their eyes and yet being unable to do anything for their dying children, this is how our people have died. Again since 1900, upto now not less than 10,000,000 have perished of famine.

Malaria.

This disease has been claiming its victims at the rate of more than 1,500,000 a year during the last ten years and over. All these figures have been taken from the publications of our enemy, the Englishman.

So we find that; during the past twenty years 67,500,000 have died untimely deaths: — is not like people dying of old age and of natural causes as in other countries. This is due to plague, famine and malaria, brought about by foreign misrule. Alas! we are only 300,000,000 people. How long can our race live if we are losing at the rate of one fifth of our total population every twenty years? Very soon the race of Aryas will be exterminated.

The cause of all these troubles.

What is the cause of all this? The cause of all this is the occupation of our beloved Motherland by the foreign Englishman. There is no other cause. Please think and see for yourselves. All the leading offices of our country *i. e.*, that of collectors, commissioners, deputy commissioners, leading doctors, engineers, superintendents of police, professors in colleges, judges of the high courts, members of legislative councils, Governors of provinces and those offices which carry any amount of power with them, have been kept by the Englishman in his hands. He gives some posts to certain selected Hindusthanis, just those who are not afraid to sacrifice the interests of their country for the foreign gold. Even that is done with the grace of a master throwing bones to his dog. And as salaries to these wretched Englishmen we pay every year, Rs 150,000,000 the money that we earn by hard toil and at the sweat of our brows. As he has all the power in his hands, he has been able to divert the trade from the hands of our brother merchants to the hands of merchants of his own race. He has ruined the shipping trade of our great ports like: Surat, Tuticorin, Calicut etc., beyond recognition and has placed all such shipping trade in the hands of his own men. When Chidambaram Pillay started the Swadeshi steam navigation company, the Englishman could not bear the sight of a Hindusthani beginning to compete successfully with him, and some excuse or other was found to sentence Pillay to six years of hard labour.

All the revenue he collects, by driving the people to mortgage their jewels and other valuables, he invests in English banks and not in any banks of Hindusthani enterprise. Our people also are foolish enough to deposit their hard-earned money in English banks, with the result that they lose crores and crores of rupees as they did in the case of Arbuthnot & Co. of Madras. These Englishman carry away from our country year after year Rs 600,000,000 as salaries, as profits and as the result of many questionable transactions. If Rs. 600,000,000 were carried away year after year, without any return, our country even though it were *El dorado* cannot stand the strain. However can we afford it?

Again, how can our country be free from famines, when the foreigner exports to his country, the major portion of the wheat that we grow. He has ruined our rich rice-fields, by inducing the cultivators to grow instead, jute, cotton and ground-nuts. We foolishly think that the railways have been constructed for our benefit. But these are two other underlying reasons: — 1st: for the easy mobilisation of the troops, if we should resent the foreign domination and commence a revolution, 2nd: for the easy carriage of our country products to the sea-coast for exporting them to his country. On account of this railway system the prices rise in all parts of the country, barren as well as fertile. In the same way the plague spreads on from region to region.

Oh! out of 300,000,000 of the population, 67,500,000 have died. Has the foreign tyrant any sense of pity or any feeling for all this? The underlings of the Government are forbidden to write that famine conditions exist in the country unless and untill the people die by thousands like insects in summer. When it is too late and when the poor people have not enough strength left in their limbs, he forces them to do coolie labour for him and pretends to give them food — the scantiest food. But why does he do this? To cheat the people to thinking that he is very kind-hearted. Even then, the major portion of the famine contributions are taken from our own men. But, after all, it is the Englishman that gets the credit. The Englishman who is appointed to superintend the famine operations gets Rs. 1,500 per mensem. What a shame! Leave this alone, the Englishman writes in his secret reports that unless people die like this, the population, will overgrow and that therefore the people should be let to die of famines, plagues, etc. Ah! my brethren, think of this! this wretch of an Englishman lets plagues and famines increase, because he wants you and your children to die. The plague came from Bombay to Bangalore; it has touched Salem, spread to Dindgul. If this wretch were in our country for a couple of years more, our whole country will be full of plague.

Let us again look at our demoralisation. My friends, you came to this sacred place; but what a treatment you received: What a whipping you have been subjected to, at the hands of the police — our own brethren. Is there anything worse than that pilgrims who go to a sacred place of pilgrimage, should he whipped. But let us consider under whose instigation is this all done. The superintendent gives the order to the inspector, that dog gives the order to the head constable. These dogs in turn thinking that only by a rough handling of the people, they can get a promotion, use the whip every side mercilessly and further, they instruct the constables also to do the same thing.

Let us also consider what worse things happen. The Englishman appoints as Trustees of the properties of temples, just those men who have no scruple as to what they do. The man who appoints a guardian to Shri Shankaracharya is the cow eating Englishman,

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who, by the bye, also tries to destroy our religion by means of the Christian missionaries. Those days are gone when we thought that we should bathe if we touched the hand of an Englishman or when his shadow fell upon us. The time is come when we seek employment under him by bartering our sisters and wives. Alas! Oh, mother Hindusthan! In the land which gave birth to and bred, Sita, Savitri, Chandramati and Damayanti, in the land where women preserved their honour by even throwing themselves into fire, has the woeful day come when the women are to sell their honour for a few pieces of gold. Oh, men! Oh, manly beings. Oh, devotees of Shri Ram. Oh, sons of Bhimsen. Oh descendants of Cheas, Cholas, Pandyas, Tirumal Naiks, Shivaji and Sharboji, your honour, your fame, in fact, your everything, these are dribbling away slowly before your very eyes. Just as Duschasan disrobed Droupati in front of the royal assembly, this wretched Englishman is dishonouring our Bharatmata, our sacred Motherland. Do not your hairs stand on end? Does not fire flash from your eyes? Do not your hands itch? You are sons of Aryas! what questions I am putting to you. Keep up the vigour of your spirits. Swear to yourselves in the sacred temple that you will rid your Motherland of this infernal Englishman and that you will establish free and independent National Government therein. Swear that you will consider nothing of your lives so long as the Englishman rules over Hindusthan. XXXX. Bhagwan Vyas has said that the year Anand will see the end of the foreign domination of Hindusthan. And accordingly the Swadeshi revolution has been begun in our country. One who is born in this world is also to die. Let us think nothing of this frail life. XXXX. Let us establish free and independent government in our country and let us go to the paradise of heroes.

Arya heroes! Do not wait any longer. May God give you success! Victory to Bharat!

Tyranny of Man against Man.

[The world is awakened from a delusion that repression can put down a revolution.

The full details of the assassination of the human monster M. Stolypin; we put before our readers from The Daily News].

ST. PETERSBURG, Friday 15 September.

An indescribable sensation was caused here this morning by the news in the papers of the attempt upon the Premier at Kieff. Not merely the deed itself, but the circumstances under which it was perpetrated, is the topic of amazed discussion.

M. Stolypin was shot towards midnight during the interval in the gala performance at the Imperial Opera at Kieff. How the assassin gained access to this brilliant gathering cannot even be conjectured. He is a young baptised Jew of 25, named Bagroff, a lawyer by profession, and the son of a presperous houseowner in Kieff. He occupied a seat in the middle of the third row of the stalls and was most fashionably dressed. Ministers occupied the front row and the Tsar and his two elder daughters were in the Imperial Box.

Assassin's Credentials.

Inordinate precautions had been taken by the police to ensure the safety of the Emperor. For weeks there had been wholesale deportations, and as for the gala performance it was absolutely impossible for anyone outside the high official world and Court circle to gain admittance. Even the professors of Kieff University were excluded. Nevertheless Bagroff was equipped with all the correct credentials and passed successfully through the triple cordon of police and spies supposed to be acting independently of each other. The assassin was in fact allowed to rub shoulders throughout the whole evening with officials and courtiers under the guise of being a civilian member of a family high at Court.

In the entr'acte M. Stolypin was leaning on the rail of the orchestra chatting pleasantly with a succession of friends, and facing the audience. Bagroff approached suavely as if to pay the Premier a compliment, and when he was only three paces distant whipped out a Browning revolver and fired two shots before he was seized. One bullet grazed M. Stolypin's hand. The other penetrated his right side.

15th September.

THE WHITE TERROR.

M. Stolypin's Repression of a Nation.

M. Stolypin's career in high office had been short, but exciting. In five years of office he had reduced the Duma into a mere simulacrum of a Parliament and made himself Dictator of Russia.

From a Provincial Governorship he was brought to the Ministry of the Interior, having gained this exceptional promotion by his ruthless suppression of the peasants. He succeeded Durnovo in April, 1906, as Minister of the Interior, dissolved the first Duma, became Premier, and subdued the nation by Field Courts-Martial. He dissolved the second Duma, and by a coup d'état abolished even the remnants of an originally moderately democratic franchise. The third Duma was a much more pliable body, but the famous coup d'état of a few months ago obliterated even the shadow of a Parliamentary system.

M. Stolypin's name has become infamous for its association with the most terrible repression of a nation ever recorded in the world's history. Tolstoy's letter on the executions is an indictment that will always brand him. The revolution had subsided, and there was consequently no excuse for his savagery. The official statistics give only the meagrest idea of the state of the country. On February 1st. 1909, there were 181,000 inmates in the chief Russian prisons built to accommodate only 170,000. The overcrowding led to awful outbreaks of disease. In 1905, the year of the revolution, the prison population was only 85,000; in four years of comparative internal peace, it had almost exactly doubled. In the same period there were no less than 2,118 executions of civilians after a mock trial by court-martial. The death sentences rose to 1,700 a year.

The number of administrative exiles in Siberia and the Arctic North rose to 78,000. Anyone who, however moderately or legally, stood across M. Stolypin's path was sent to this terrible fate simply by order of an official without trial and usually without knowledge of his or her offence.

Such is the record that will always stand to the discredit of M. Stolypin.

Saturday 16th September.

M. Stolypin.

There can be no doubt that the attack was planned and executed with the utmost deliberation, and it proves beyond question that political assassination is once again an imminent peril in the Russian Empire.

In order to appreciate the full importance of this we must look at what has been happening in Russia during the past six years. The policy entered upon after the startling events of 1905 appeared, from the standpoint of the autocracy, to be entirely justified by results. M. Stolypin applied the method of repression with a systematic thoroughness that was intended to leave the Revolution no chance of survival. The field courts-martial were worked to the uttermost; the famous "necktie" was brought into merciless use. From end to end of the Empire people were cowed. The civilized world, so long accustomed to repeat that mere repression never succeeds, came slowly to think that when applied according to the plan of a Stolypin it could and did succeed. The sensational event in the Kieff Opera House means one thing if it means no other—namely, that the spirit of political assassination has not been exorcised in Russia, even by six years of the iron heel. It is possible that, for all the apparent quiet of these years, the Tsar's Government may be driven to realise that to all intents and purposes the country stands where it stood in 1905.

Stolypin's work for Tsar and country was thought to have been succesfully accomplished. Nicholas II, shows himself in public He drives through the streets of his capital unattended. The revolutionists seemed to have been exterminated. The Sovereign is able to visit Kieff. The Tsaritsa, brave once more, and forgetting perhaps, for once the fear of assassination, accompanies him. The little Tsarevitch and his sisters go with their parents The Crown Prince of Bulgaria comes to be with them at the unveiling of the memorial to the Tsar's murdered grandfather. The revolution seems a half-forgotten nightmare. The welcome of Holy Kieff to the Imperial Family is the final proof of Stolypin's victory.

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In the moment of the Premier's triumph the pleasant dream is dispelled at a gala performance at the opera. The terrorist is still to be reckoned with, and the nation still requires the freedom it has claimed and been denied.

16th. September.

THE ASSASSIN

His Relations with Police and Revolutionaries.

Bagroff was regarded by the authorities as a most valuable secret agent, his work having won for him the entire confidence of Colonel Kuliabko, the chief of the Kieff Secret Police. During his preliminary examination Bagroff stated that he had long waited for a favourable opportunity to kill M. Stolypin, but when the occasion came his courage failed him for the moment. During the second entr'acte, however, he reflected that he might not find a better opportunity, and he accordingly approached the Premier who was completely unguarded. He pulled the revolver from his hip pocket, concealing it beneath a programme and after firing two shots he ran stooping for the corridor, hoping to escape in the excitement. The prisoner's injuries included a sabre cut in the head and two teeth knocked out.

Bagroff, it is stated, was commissioned by the revolutionaries to murder M. Stolypin after they discovered that the was in police employment in order that he might thus rehabilitate his character in their eyes.

Colonel Kuliabko has been completely postrated by the crime. When summoned to the examination of the prisoner he requested with tears that he might be allowed to make a requisition in writting.

On his way to the fortress after his arrest Bagroff asked the policeman accompanying him for a cigarette, remarking as he did so, "The whole business has upset me frightfully. I can't yet realise what's happened".

Bagroff has been expelled from the corporation of lawyer's clerks. — Reuter's Special.

M. STOLYPIN DIES OF HIS WOUND.

HEART FAILURE AFTER THE OPERATION.

"Death Creeping on".

ST. PETERSBURG, Monday Night.

M. Stolypin died at ten o'clock this evening. The ray of hope which the pathologists saw in the late Premier's buoyant resistance in the early stages proved a grievous illusion. Immediately after the extraction of the bullet an ominous weakness of the heart became evident. There was internal bleeding, and blood from the wound filled the space between the liver and diaphragm. Peritonites supervened. Despite the agonising pain, M. Stolypin occasionally asked in a steady voice about his condition and friends. Later as the blood pressure further enfeebled his heart he sank into a semi-conscious condition, saying that death was coming over him.

HIS PREMIERSHIP.

Five Years of Repression and Reaction.

M. Stolypin has died from the assassin's bullet. His manner of death is the most tragic evidence of his failure. He had boasted that he had torn the heart out of Russian resistance; the crime of Thursday night in the Kieff Opera House shows that the resistance of which he spoke still exists, though it has been once more driven into underground and evil channels. When he assumed control of affairs five years ago, Russia was on the threshold of freedom; with frightful cost the people had won the right to a voice in national affairs; the Tsar's October Manifesto had guaranteed liberty "of the person, conscience, word, speech, meeting, and association"; the autocracy had been subjected to the check of a popularly-elected Assembly with a veto on legislation; all that remained was a genuine effort to set the new constitutional machine at work and so perfect it by the adjustments suggested by experience.

M. Stolypin was Premier for five years. What is his record? Every promise contained in the famous Manifesto has not only been ignored, but deliberately set at nought. Even the slight reforms which M. Witte put through have been annulled; so that the October Manifesto remains a historical curiosity. The decay of the Duma is still more striking. The first Duma was conscious of itself as a Parliament; it even entertained dreams of Ministerial reponsibility. M Stolypin's first act on assuming office was to dissolve this troublesome body, though it was then only a few months old. At the same time he put the country under his field courts-martial, and the hangings began. The terrorism of the desperadoes created by a bloody revolution was met by a white terrorism still more horrible on the part of the Government. Elected under this discipline of the gallows, the second Duma was much more "moderate", but its moderation did not save it. For a short time M. Stolypin treated it with a certain amount of apparent deference but when it threatened opposition he again dissolved it. Then came the coup d'état of June, 1907, abolishing the Constitutional Electoral Law. The third Duma was more to his liking, and almost abjectly servile. The majority were believers in a Constitution (the Octobrists), but by this time the old spirit had gone. The Octobrists were not foolish enough to press for reforms, but they hoped that by cooperating even in illegality aud oppression with the Government they might preserve intact the vestiges of the Constitution for a better day. For three years the Duma survived owing to this policy of acquiesence. The coup d'état of last March, provoked, it should be noted, not by the Duma but by the Court clique in the Council of the Empire, swept away the last rights of the Duma. In future whenever the Legislature ventures to differ from the Executive, it can be ignored. M. Stolypin has established a precedent for the issue of legislative decrees without the sanction of Parliament. To-day Russia is without even the nucleus of Parliamentary Government; the autocracy is once more supreme and unlimited.

These five years have been years of the most ruthless oppression. A Russian of the Russians, M. Stolypin has assailed every one of the minor races of the Empire. The destruction of the Finnish Constitution is but one instance, though the most conspicuous and offensive. In Russia itself, however, as the Revolution subsided, the repression became more fierce. The field courts-martial were kept hard at work, and every day some score of people were hanged, often within 24 hours of a mock trial. Hosts of men and women were sent to Siberia and Arctic Russia by mere administrative order without trial and without even a knowledge of their offence. Not merely students and "intellectuals", but workmen and peasants were dispatched to a living grave simply because they were suspected of "disturbing" opinion. The prisons were full to overflowing, and their inmates, huddled in the corridors and passages, were swept away by disease. In 1909 the gaols of Russia, constructed to hold only 170,000, contained more than 180,000 people.

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(Gautama Buddha).

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All communications should be addressed to Madame CAMA, 25, Rue de Ponthieu, Champs Elysées, Paris (France).

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The Coronation Durbar.

The "Coronation Durbar" is proposed to be held on the 12th. of December at Delhi. George, King of England, is anxiously and greedily looking forward to the one day of his life when the eyes and thoughts of the world would be turned towards him and be dazzled by the diamonds that he would wear and the power that it is pretended that he wields. He is spending his time in selecting or refusing, ordering or countermanding the different dresses and jewels that he wants to deck himself with during the gala days of his stay in Hindusthan. He has already called up his boon companions from all parts of the United Kingdom to accompany him to India, for it is in their company alone that he can believe himself to be a man and a king, and it is in their company alone that he feels himself at home. In short his anxiety that nothing should happen to put off or cancel the Coronation Durbar is as intense and painful as that of Master Merton on the eve of the ball where he was to be the principal show.

But while George is pathetically praying all the gods for the successful holding of the Durbar, his masters, the ministers and their supporters, are feeling the pulse of the Revolution in Hind to see if it is safe to trust their show animal and all their moveable menagerie to that distant part of the world. It was an easy matter to announce the Coronation Durbar a year ago when every thing appeared to be quieting down in the Indian horizon. And the "Liberal" ministers thought they could with effect play their trump card this December by leading their kingly puppet over there and stimulating the loyalty of the demoralised fools of Hind, and at the same time compensate George for his loyal support of them against the lords by slaking his thirst for pomp and display and his greed for gold on a hitherto unheard of scale. And thus they imagined that they could have to thrir credit a counter-show to speak of in answer to their opponent's boast of two imperial Durbars held by them. But now they find that they have counted without their host. The situation in India is more dangerous than ever. Already on June 17th. last, just five days before the coronation of George in England, the immortal Vanchi Aiyer, one of that chosen band who seemed to have determined at all cost to save Hindusthan the disgrace of a Coronation Durbar drew forth his Browning and laid low the representative of His Gracious Majesty — the arch criminal Ashe, who shot at innocent men women and children in Tuticorin three years ago. The noisy demonstrations of loyalty on the part of such scum of Hind as Gokhale and Sarat Dass and the Theosophical Justice Subramania Aiyar do not blind Asquith and his crew to the fierce wrath of the revolution. Therefore with their usual cunning they left the door wide open to back out of the Durbar arrangement at a moment's notice, within a few days after Vanchi's glorious sacrifice, they spread a rumour that the king was not going out for the Durbar (such is the cowardice of the race that holds Hindoosthan) and then "authoritatively" contradicted it. Bottomley, as a free lance, was induced to write that it would be positively dangerous for the king to leave his capital when the European firmament was overcast with lowering clouds. And then the Turko-Italian war came as a godsend to these Machiavellis of to-day.

And what are our countrymen doing in Hindusthan? — not the mass of the people which is just being educated to understand the principles of our revolution or the hand of young men who are prepared to dash themselves at the foe at every available point, but these men, the intellectual and moral descendants of Mahommed Ali and Mir Jaffir, Umachand and Jagat Seth, Roghobba and Purnayya, who while sneaking under the protection of the tyrant hold high their heads and presume to speak on behalf of the Hindi Nation? What a nauseating picture unfolds itself to our view? Everywhere meetings are held of these denationalised people where resolutions of welcome to the Mlechha king of England are passed unanimously, and a demoralised press is found to give a detailed account of all such meetings. The accumulated corruption of centuries is pouring out in the shape of proposals for the fitting celebration of the Durbar in every nook and corner of Hindusthan. It is a grand opportunity for every petty clerk or low-paid magistrate, indebted Zamindar or title-hunting *parvenu* to proclaim his existence to the world and his loyalty to the government by presiding at such meetings or moving propositions at these meetings. Others write to the papers to give their opinion as to how best to make the Durbar memorable in history! Others write in the basest spirit of flattery and burn incense after incense at the altar of this latter-day Chakravarti. Here is an extract from a lecture of Sarat Chandra Das. "India's golden age is coming. It has not passed away as many Hindus believe. The Kali Yuga, the age of feud and fighting is indeed a thing of the past. It came with Mahmud of Ghazni in 1001 A. D. and vanished at the very commencement of Lord Hasting's administration! . . . The present era of happy omens may be christened as the Georgian era from the coronation of His Imperial Majesty — Our present King-Emperor is like Ramachandra, a Kshatriya Raj, Chakravarti. Within His Imperial Majesty's dominion the sun never sets. So all Indians including the Brahmin, the most high-born of the land should pay their respectful homage to His Majesty George the fifth."

Alas! How rapidly is the social conquest that we have so often insisted on in these columns, progressing? We think that to-day's depth whereunto we are fallen is the lowest to which a conquered and emasculated race can sink — but to-morrow shows a lower depth still. The Pandits of Hind have written to George that they want to present him an address in Sanskrit verse and to perform a religious

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ceremony in connection with the Coronation! Degradation and curruption cannot go further. Men whose duty pre-eminently is to see that every thing is well with the body politic and to concert measures to cure it when it is diseased — men the successors and descendants by blood of Vasishtha and Parashuram and Ram Das, alas how low are they fallen! They welcome to their shores the enemy of their country, the destroyer of their religion and morality!

Then again the Princes, how meekly they have submitted to their country's and their nation's dishonour! How like tame animals in a circus they show their willingness to exhibit themselves at the Durbar. Heirs of families who trace their descent to Sri Ram and Yudhishthir, Vicram and Shalivahn, Pratap and Shivaji, does not your blood boil to think of paying homage to George of England? And the Rana of Udayapur who can boast that Akbar was not great enough to receive his homage shall he to-day swear loyalty to George whose only qualification is that he is the son of the last king of perfidious England? Wake up, ye princes, wake up, though it is so late in the day! Disgrace not the country by paying willingly homage to a Mlechha! Disgrace not the memory of your ancestors by riding as captives of war to grace the enemy's triumph! Your many sins be forgiven ye!

And now my countrymen, my brothers, blessed children of an ancient land! Rouse yourselves up from the ignoble torpor into which you are fallen! Remember the greatness of the land of your birth. Forget not how she has never rested till she has recovered her independence from her oppressor — how she has treated every invader as a Mlechha till he was either absorbed as part of the nation or driven out ot the land as an incorrigible barbarian. Forget not that you are the descendants of Chandragupta and Vicramaditya, of Porus and Prithvi, of Pratap and Shivaji, of Govind and Banda, of Hyder and Tippu — men who never rested till the invader was out of their land or till they died in the struggle to keep them out. Therefore, my brothers, disgrace not yourselves by rejoicing in the enemy's Coronation in our ancient land! Dishonour not our great ancestors by taking part in the coming Durbar! Boycott it utterly — Let the Durbar take place, if it does, in the midst of a grave-like silence. In the meantime prepare ye for the great war of liberation. You know that Dehli has always destroyed the race which presumes to celebrate its pageants within its walls for three generations. The hover of the English race is therefore struck! Rise, and rest not till the war of independence is successful!

BANDE MATARAM.

A word with Indian Moslems.

The attention of the whole world is fixed, to-day, on two events which are going to leave their marks on its history. Both of them are of interest to India, and have a relation to the future development of its people. One of these two events is the seizure of Tripoli, a detached province of the Ottoman Empire in North Africa wedged in between the French territory of Tunis and the Soudan on the west, and the British occupied territory of Egypt on the east. The second is the outbreak of an insurrection in the valley of the Yangtse-Kiang in China with the declared object of ridding China of its Manchu rulers after their three hundred years of domination, and substituting for their imperial rule a republic.

It is with the first that we have more immediately to deal in this article, because it is the culmination of the series of outrages, perpetrated by so called Christian and civilized governments, on a government and country which their intrigues and aggressions had reduced to a state of anarchy and confusion. The war made by Russia on Turkey in 1877—78 and the peace of San-Stefano which followed, left Turkey disrupted and demoralized militarily, politically, socially and commercially. All this took place in a country which was under the protection of the Great Powers of Europe, which in 1841 guaranteed its integrity and independence. At that time Germany, as we know it now, did not exist. There was only the kingdom of Prussia. The countries which directly profitted by the amputations of Turkey under the provisions of the treaty of Berlin of 1878, were Austria, Roumania, Greece, France and England. They were the jackals who came in for their share of the plunder after the Russian hunter had brought down the prey and taken the choise morsels. Turkey had lost more than one third of its territary and was loaded with debt.

Unfortunately for the Ottoman Empire it had for its rulers during the years that followed the war of 1877 and of 1878, one of the most miserable of men, wanting in every attribute of genius and statesmanship. Corruption and intrigue were the chief methods of the government at the capital while the distant provinces were governed by men whose only object, as a rule, was to acquire a fortune as rapidly as possible before they were recalled to make place for others. The only institution that escaped the complete demoralization that prevailed was the army, thanks to the fine martial qualities of Turkey's peasant class from which it was almost exclusively drawn, and the scientific military organization and training given it by a staff of German officers! But the governments that had marked out certain portions of the Ottoman Empire for confiscation did not sieze them all at once.

By a fraudulent manoeuvre England wheedled the Turkish government out of the Island of Cyprus in the angle of the eastern Mediterranean formed by the southern coast of Asia Minor and the coast line of Syria. The pretext was that Cyprus was to serve as a place of arms in a future war between England and Russia, and to be held by England so long as Russia occupied the harbour of Batoum in the Black Sea. The inference intended was that some day Russia would be made to give Batoum back to Turkey, when of course England would relinquish Cyprus. This was before the Congress of Berlin was called, in order that after it met there might be no discussion either of England's objects in taking the island, or of Turkey's right to give it away. The Congress merely had to recognize the accomplished fact.

The first grab after the Congress was made by France. Montenegro and Greece were put in possession of the territories awarded them in 1880 and 1881; and in the latter year France without any justification except Lord Salisbury's valedictory to the French Plenipotentiary, Waddington, as they parted at the door of the German Foreign Office in Berlin at the close of the Congress in 1878, "Now you may go into Tunis as soon as you like", occupied that vassal province of the Turkish Empire. The next attack on the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was made by England.

Egypt which, in 1862 was entirely free of debt, was, by the year 1882 occupied, by England to secure to the money-lenders of London and Paris the payment of interest and principal of an accumulated obligation of over £100,000,000 on which the Egyptian government had received in cash only £46,000,000. The first attempt to force a loan on Egypt failed, but after employing curruption at Constantinople, one was thrust on the Khedive on the security of his private estates; but it was not many years before the Rothschilds and other banking houses of Europe, high and low, had got such a gold on Egypt that they simply heaped debt upon debt so rapidly and at such usurious discounts and rates of interest that the revenues of the country were no-longer able to bear the burden. The country and capital were overrun with foreign officials connected with the financial administration and the collection of the taxes. The European powers had left to England and France the management of the Egyptian affairs, Turkey, the Suzerain of Egypt, being treated as of no account. The moment came when, in order to satisfy the greed of the creditors and usurers, large reductions were made in the Egyptian army, partly to take the money thus secured for the service of the debt and partly to reduce the military power of resistance to the aggression which England was contemplating. This brought nationalist feeling in Egypt to a head, and Ahmed el Arabi, then only a colonel of infantry, placed himself at the head of the nationalist movement. The Khedive, Tevfik, was a mere tool of the London and Paris money-lenders and the agents of the English and French governments at Cairo, and the nationalist movement was by them declared a rebellion against the Khedive. In the events that immediately preceded the British operations in Egypt in 1882, the London *Times* correspondent there, Moberly Bell, played an important part by disseminating false information, distorting facts, and directly assisting in the intrigues that brought on the disturbances which served as a pretext for intervention.

At first a proposal was made to France to co-operate with England against the Egyptian nationalists, but Sir Charles Dilke, the then undersecretary for foreign affairs to Lord Granville, had arranged with his friend Gambetta in Paris that England should go it alone, and so it came about that the French squadron lying at anchor in the harbour of Alexandria, steamed away two days before the bombardment of that city. A proposal to the Italian government to participate in the operations was rejected.

The history of the steps by which the financiers of Europe, with the political and military power of England at their back, were finally installed in Egypt, is told in detail in two books which every one interested in understanding the present situation in the Near and Middle East should read. One is, "Spoiling the Egyptians" published in 1882 by J Seymour Keay who was at one time a banker in India and an M. P. in one parliament; and the other is the "Secret History of the British Occupation of Egypt" by Sir

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Wilfrid Blunt, published recently. These two works tell a tale of shame, of perfidy and inhumanity, that has no parallel in the world's history, because the crimes described in them were not committed by a "heathen" or "uncivilized" nation, but by the government of one laying claim to be *Christian* and *civilized*, in the highest degree. The horrors attending the bombardment of Alexandria, the wholesale massacre of the Egyptians wounded on the battle-field of Tel-el-Kebir by the British soldiers have not yet been forgotten in Egypt; and the butchery of the Soudanese by Kitchener with the desecration of the Mahdi's tomb together with the Denshawi hangings of innocent men, are still fresh in men's memories.

While these events were going on, the situation at Constantinople kept getting worse, and every thing seemed to indicate the approching dissolution of the Turkish Empire; but Russia's attention was suddenly diverted to the Far East. England which had been the disturber of the peace in the Near East "always in the interest of India," gave the Japanese government the stimulus necessary to drive it into a war with Russia, hoping that Japan would be obliged to call England to her assistance, when peace would have been made in England's interest. Things did not turn out quite as they had been expected to, but England awailed herself of Russia's misfortunes to buy Russia off from India going halves with her in Persia, with prospective acquisition by both of Turkish territory in Arabia and Asia Minor. England's great object is to obtain control of Mecca and Medina, the Holy places of Islam, to wrest the Khalifate from the Sultan at Constantinople, and confer it on some one under British influence and jurisdiction. And it is for that she has been working ever since 1878. It was to help on to that end she cheated the Turks out of Cyprus in 1878; piratically seized Egypt in 1882; and cynically allied herself with Japan in 1903, an alliance out of which she sneaked the other day under cover of the Anglo-American Arbritation Treaty which miscarried, after having been used as pretext for getting out of her obligations to Japan in the two previous treaties of alliance.

But three years ago a revolution at Constantinople created a constitutional government for Turkey, and the attempt at a counter-revolution by the reactionary party dethroned Abdul Hamid, the evil genius of Turkey and the Ottoman people. The hand of England was again at work and insurrections were raised in the Hauran in Syria which threatened the Hedjaz railway to the Holy Places; in Yemen which threatened the Turkish control of the Holy Places and pilgrimage routes; and in Albania along the Montenegria frontier where Italy had a hand. Thanks to the admirable organization of the Turkish army and the patriotism of the people, the new Sultan Mahmed V. and his government had been able to put down all these risings and it seemed as if at last Turkey would have a period of peace during which to effect her political reorganization and develop her resources.

This was the moment selected by the Italian government with, as is now known, the connivance of England and France, to throw every thing in Turkey in to confusion by acting in the spirit of the Calabrian brigand, and invading Tripoli in Africa. Italy's claim on Tripoli dates back to the Congress of Berlin fortified by agreements with England and France in 1899 and 1901, and had the decomposition of Turkey continued, she probably would have been content to wait for the final dissolution. But Turkey's exhibition of vitality and strength alarmed the government of Rome, and after the conference between the French and Italian governments in August last of which England was made aware, it was decided to strike before it was too late, and the enterprise is commended to the world as one for the spread of Christianity and civilization when it is nothing but an act of banditism in the interest of a finincial establishment at Rome under clerical control, and an indirect attack on Islam in the person of the Khalif at Constantinople.

Great importance is attached to the fact that in connection with this aggression on Turkey, Mussalmans of India have sent protests to the British foreign office in London and expressions of sympathy to Constantinople. To some this will seem a strange proceeding. When Turkey was being mutilated and robbed by England and Moslems were being massacred by thousands by British troops in Egypt and the Soudan, no protest went up from their co-religionists in India; nor was there any exhibition of disapproval by them when England and her former enemy, Russia, joined hands to plunder and dismember Persia, a Mohammedan country. Nor was there any protest when France with England's approval snatched Tunis to hand it over, as Morocco is being, to gangs of financial exploiters and corrupt politicians. Indian Mussulmans wait until this act of meanness and piracy is committed by a second rate European power, for that is all Italy is morally and economically. Why should this be so, and why cry against Italy? Is England any more justifiable when killing Moslems, either in warfare or by mockery of judical process, than Italy?

If the Mussulmans of India are really sincere in there protests against this Italian outrage, they will also make an effective protest against the double dealing going on at Constantinople at the British embassy, where the British Ambassader Sir Gerard Lowther is playing much the same part as Sir Edward Malet did at Cairo in 1882 when every thing was being got ready for the invasion and plundering of Egypt in the interest of the London and Paris money-lenders. If they do not do so, they will stamp their anti-Italian protest with the brand of insincerity, and prove their disloyalty to India; for, every thing that strengthens the hold of England on Egypt and at Aden is treason to the cause of Indian freedom. England has been by turns the false friend and open enemy of Turkey, but she has never been more dangerous than when professing friendship, for she is always and every where perfidious. She is now engaged in the insidious attack on China in the Abor Punitive Expedition and no one who watched the intrigues that preceded the raid on Lhassa can have any doubt that emissaries of England were at work in the recent rising in the province of Szechuan through which Chinese troops have been sent into Thibet to resist English aggression.

A great opportunity is now offering itself to the Mussulmans as well as to the rest of the people of India, if they desire their own freedom and independence; but they cannot obtain them unless they entirely and effectively refuse to sanction England's aggressions against China on one side and Persia and Turkey on the other. The so called civilisation and Christianity of England which is always being flaunted in the face of the world, is only a mockery, a mask covering the face of a hypocrite and a murderer; and the representation of England every where in Egypt, in Nigeria, in East and South Africa and all over Asia; the Kitcheners, the Girauards, the Nathans, the Hardings, and the rest, are the satraps of a degenerate Christianity and a decadent civilization, the servants of the money-lords and the imperial commercialism which will reduce all the world to slavery. It is against these that the Moslems of India should not only protest but act.

Her domination in India is the foundation of England's influence in Europe and in America, and on it depends her power in Africa and on the sea with all her tyranny and plunder of weak peoples. A free India means not only a free Asia, but eventuallly a free Africa, two continents belonging to their own peoples in harmonious relations with each other and rest of the world. To bring this about is the duty of every Indian, but, in this present crisis, peculiarly so of every Indian Moslem; it is a duty not only to their own country, but to humanity. Are they prepared to perform it? NEMO.

Turkish Navy Fund.

The following appeal has been made to the Moslems of the world by students of Edinburgh, Scotland, asking them to make a collection in *every mosque in the world* on the day of *The Festival of Eed-ud Duha* in aid of a "*Moslem World Turkish Navy Fund*". "Those of you that are living under non-Moslem Governments possess a certain amount of prestige amongst your rulers, not because you are moslems, but because your co-religionists still count amongst the rulers of the world. Let these moslem countries go, and your lot will be of the once great, but now the most unfortunates of peoples — the Jews . . . .

It is universally recognised in Europe that the only reason of the inability of Turkey to check the aggression of Italy today, is her want of an efficient Navy. There is all the truth in the statement of an important German paper, that six Dreadnaughts in possession of Turkey would have completely reversed the prospects of the present war.

Let not this impotence last any longer. Today it is Italy, tomorrow it may be another of the European powers, to whom, in the words of The Tanin, "treaties are merely instruments of deception, which may be destroyed when any advantage is to be gained thereby".

We give below an extract from an English newspaper called "*Daily News*" dated the 8th November 1911.

There are now possibilities of a universal boundary agreement, which will cover not merely Central Africa—where changes are imminent—but India, where France possesses five little coast dependencies, minute in area, but holding a considerable population and great centres of influence.

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These French possessions in India are Pondichery, Karekal, Chandernagar, Malie and Yanaon, with an aggregate area of about 196 square miles and a population of, roughly, 200.000. They are represented by a Deputy in the French Chamber. France is not over-fond of these Colonies with their perpetually recurring scandals. The Indian Government would like a change, as these territories are centres of seditious propaganda.

We must say that we have not been unaware of the suggestions made above for some time past. We are not surprised at England negotiating for the possession of the French territories in India, but we are, we must confess, more than dumb-founded by the contemplated action of the French Government as could be seen from the slight hint conveyed in one of his recent speeches by the French Premier. We wonder if the France of to-day is the same France that made the streets of her principal cities flow red with blood in the cause of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality. Is this the France that received with open arms political refugees from all parts of the world and protected them from the unjust and unscrupulous laws of their tyrannous governments? Is this the France where the love of principle, the love of freedom, the love of independence, was never compromised by the love of power and authority. Is this the France to whom revolutionaries from all parts of the world looked for inspiration and to whom one can still look for the same? To all the above questions we regret to say that we shall probably have to answer. "No". The France of the present day is not the same it was seven years ago. She has now taken a different course, downwards or upwards we shall see in course of time.

Ever since 1904, ever since the so-called *entente cordial*, France has been doing a great deal for England in the hope that she might receive help from over the Channel. But she does not realise the depths of perfidy to which England can descend to save her own skin. We, as students of history, shall not in the least be surprised if in the nick of time England should betray France. We have just seen what amounts to international treachery on the part of England. Only the other day we read in an English newspaper called "Daily Mail", that there was a serious split in the English Cabinet on the question of standing by France if the negotiations between her and Germany over the Morocco affair ended in a rupture. It seems that only two members of the Cabinet were in favour of France, the majority being otherwise. Here is a typical instance and France might do well to take a lesson from this incident. If this is not enough let her examine the Anglo-French relations of the early Republican days. The French people should be acute enough to understand that England is exploiting their ill-will towards Germany for her own selfish purposes.

We do not deny that Pondichery and other French possessions in India are centres of political refuge for our persecuted brethren. We do not deny that we nurture the idea of creating a revolution and ending the continuance of British rule in India; for as true sons of our land, what is more precious to us than the liberation of our enslaved Motherland from foreign domination. We appeal to the French Government and to the French people in the name of liberty in the name of Justice in the name of French history in the name of French traditions not to fall a prey to the machinations of English perfidy and not to surrender their Indian possessions to England. They shall thereby gain the eternal gratitude of Young Hind struggling for independence.

BANDE MATARAM.

We beg to inform the readers of the "Bande Mataram" that since the month of September last we have received several letters and a telegram from Pondichery to the effect that the English Government have actually sent about 300 members of their secret service to harass our patriotic Hindoo political refugees there, and that these secret agents are saying openly that they would carry away our comrades to English territory by force or fraud.

This information was communicated at once to *La Ligue Francaise pour la defence des Droits de L'Homme et du Citoyen* through the right channel and introdution and the League took up the matter in earnest and did all that was necessary. The Colonial Minister was asked to see that no underhand work was allowed, and he has given assurances to the President of the League that in case our comrades are to be sent out of Pondichery, they will not be put on the English frontier but on a neutral territory. We give below the translation of an extract from a letter from the colonial Minister.

I have the honour to inform you that I have just asked Mr. Duprat, Governor of Pondichery, that in case where expulsions seem indispensable, to put the persons expelled in a position to gain neutral territory.

What the New-York Call says:

King George hopes to retain India.

Visit Intended to Fan Flame of Loyalty in Exploited Land.

London, Nov. 10. — King George will start tomorrow on his visit to India.

The main purpose of the visit is to rehabilitate the waning loyalty of the 300.000.000 people of the huge empire, who, for several years past, have become restive under England's tyrannous and brutal military administration and no less disastrous civil rule.

Since England has had undisputed sway in the country, the plague, which, under native rule, had been epidemic, has become endemic. Instead of coming upon the people occasionally it now is a permanent terror, taking its toll of millions of lives. Famine has actually become more severe, and today entails greater mortality than under the rule of India's princes 200 years ago. Drought, famine, and plague kill nearly a million people annually, and the figure rises tremendously every few years.

England's reputation for successful colonization is largely founded on misrepresentation. She has so far been able to maintain her greedy grip on her unfortunate conquests solely by her unscrupulous use of gunboats and soldiers. Her administrators in India since the governments took over the business of the East India Company, have been characterized by a brutal disregard for the feelings of her subjects, who find their religious feelings outraged by an insolent conqueror, their customs and traditions derided. "Divide and rule" has been England's watchword in India, and the native princes are constantly stirred up and their jealousy fermented by British agents.

India is compelled to support a large standing army, for which merciless taxes are levied under the most ruinous conditions possible. A horde of greedy civil servants draw large salaries and plunder the people right and left. And the people are allowed no representation in the governing body of the country.

Demands for reform having failed, the people were driven to attempt to throw off the yoke of the English, and last year saw the assassination in London of an ex-India administrator, and the killing of several officials in India. Lord Morley ordered the suppression of this attempt to win freedom, and the methods resorted to would have disgraced many a Russian Governor.

People were horribly tortured by the police in order to extort "confessions," many were deported, scores were thrown into jail and kept there without trial or charge of any kind. A reign of terror was instituted, and, the attempt to win freedom was suppressed, despite the most vigorous opposition of the Socialist and Labor parties in England, in and out of the House of Commons.

It is in the hope of fanning the flame of loyalty that George now proceeds to India. The government will spend $ 5.625,000, wrung from the poverty stricken natives, on the celebrations, and the natives princes will spend at least as much more. When the noise has died down George will probably realize that he had better have stayed at home.

Japanese American Commercial Weekly.

A Russo-Italian Secret Treaty about Turkey.

The obscurity which has hung over the sudden movement of Italy against Tripoli has been partly dissipated by the revelation of a secret arrangement made between Italy and Russian during the Russian emperor's recent visit to Racconigi in Piedmont in northern Italy. Russia then gave its full support to the contemplated action of Italy against Turkey in Tripoli, with the understanding that when peace came to be made the question of the Dardanelles would be brought up, thus giving Russia the opportunity to secure for her warships free entry and exit from and to the Black Sea and Mediterranean which has hitherto been forbidden them under the treaties that followed the wars of 1826, 1854-56 and 1877-78.

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THE Bande Mataram

Monthly Organ of Indian Independence.

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.
(Gautama Buddha).

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Calcutta evacuated by the English.
Jai! Jai! Jai! Bengalis!

The tyrants are leaving Calcutta with bag and baggage, as their days are numbered; and they find it too hot.

Swadeshis; take heart, persevere.

The goal is nearer than ever. Be sure History will repeat itself; and the fate of the Mogols is awaiting the English.

British Rule is tottering.

Hind, Hindusthan for ever. BANDE MATARAM.

Translated from the Calcutta *Juganter*.

"Away! Away to the battlefield!
Sing your loudest songs of triumph:
Guard your faith imperilled!" Mother India cries.
Will you consider but your lives
When peril threatens mothers, wives?
Put on your war dress, all of you,
Hark the trumpet sounds unceasing!
March on! To pour our lives in battle.
Praise to Mother India, praise to Mother Kali!
Does it fit the god of terror,
To sit and take his ease!
Neither it behooves you to be in the embrace of your sweetheart when your breast has been wounded by the trampling of the English!
Will the shiny sword rest in its sheath.
When the Indian is offended?
We shall wheel about in the fight, so as not to show the back.
We shall never be taken captives by the enemy.
We know no fear, whatever may be in store for us,
We will not make any truce with Sin,
There must be an end to our servility to the Feringhi.
Victory or death! We have to make a selection in a face-to-face battle.
Rush to war! Rush to war!
We shall disperse the troops of the enemy. There will be left no traces of the foe in old and sacred Aryavarta.
We shall make our ablutions in the blood of the enemy.
And, with it, we shall tint Hindustan red!

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The Famine Emperor and King.

By M. Barry O'Delany.

The late Queen Victoria was called the Empress of India, a title to which she had, of course, no more right than she had to that of Queen of Ireland. But public opinion, which is seldom at fault, gave her Majesty another title to which, before God and man, she had an undoubted right, namely, that of "The Famine Queen", and it was in connection especially, with her rule in Ireland that she earned it. But she deserved it quite as much with regard to her government of India. There, as in Ireland, long after the English have been driven from the land, she will be remembered as the Famine Queen and Empress. Nor, since the English people are a nation of snobs, and delight in hereditary titles, should we grudge the late queen's grandson, George the Fifth, the title of Famine King and Emperor. The title is, not only because he is Victoria's heir, but also because there is just as much misery in India and in Ireland under his rule as there was under hers. As in India, so in Ireland, the land is naturally fertile, and produces more than sufficient food to feed the population. Yet famine is the rule, not the exception, in both countries. Whereas in England, which is by nature a far less naturally productive country, famine is unknown; which shows that the cause of the distress that exists in the lands, so unfortunate as to be governed by her, lies in Art and not in Nature., and the artist-in-chief is the sovereign in whose name the atrocities are committed that lead, as they are meant to lead, to famine and death.

To go no further back, in eighteen forty five, two years before "Black Forty-seven," when the famine, always existing more or less in Ireland, reached its maximum, there was more than sufficient food in the country to have fed the people three times over. This the English government itself admitted in Thom's Official Directory, which published statistics showing that the quantity of corn and other grain sent from Ireland to England, at that time, was even superior to that of preceding years to say nothing of the quantity of cattle sent, from Ireland, for consumption to the English markets Yet England gorged, and Ireland starved. And while all this misery was existing in Ireland, England taxed the unfortunate people there till sixty thousand pounds sterling were raised to embelish Trafalgar Square and Windsor Castle. In that same year, the Dublin Municipal Council sent a petition to Queen Victoria through the Irish members of Parliament, asking that the English government should take measures to prevent the spread of the famine. To this, Lord Heytesbury replied, for her Majesty, that the English government was perfectly aware of the distress in Ireland; but that it was not a sufficiently important matter to be brought before an English Parliament. Fifty-two years later Balfour used the very same terms, in a similar case.

While the famine of 1847, raged in Ireland a member of the English Royal Family said: "Ireland is not in such a heart-rending state as they say. I have been assured that rotten potatoes, sea-weed and grass, mixed in proper quantities, make a very wholesome article of diet. Besides we all know that the Irish can live upon anything, and there is plenty of grass in the fields even if the potage crop has failed."

Disraeli exclaimed, at the same epoch, amidst the cheers of his audience: "There are worse things than an Irish famine!"

It is part of England's policy to seek the applause of her dupes and victims. In "Black Forty-seven" Queen Victoria visited Ireland in state. The veteran Irish patriot, the late John O'Leary, was there at the time. He told me, some years before his death, that, from curiosity, he followed the carriage in which Queen Victoria and Prince Albert sat, as it drove slowly through the streets of Dublin, and that there was scarcely a cheer from start to finish. He added that Prince Albert, who looked as if he would have given anything for a cheer, for the sake of the Queen, took the little Prince of Wales from his seat and held him between his knees for the people to see him well and, perhaps, be moved to some demonstration of loyalty by the sight of his boyish beauty; but that the crowd remained silent and defiant. Queen Victoria hated Ireland and the Irish; but it hurt her vanity that the world should see that Ireland and the Irish returned her sentiments in kind. At the age of eighty-one, after an absence of half a century, during which she could never forget the chilling reception she had received in "Black Forty-seven," she plucked up sufficient courage to visit Ireland again. She went, officially, as the Mother of her people, but really as a sort of recruiting agent, to cajole Irishmen into enlisting in her army, as she was sadly in need of soldiers to carry on her infamous Boer war. The reception she got was, however, far from encouraging, and she returned to England a sadder, if not a wiser woman.

The royal visit to India has precisely the same objects as all royal visits to Ireland have had. England knows that her unwiedly empire is tottering to its fall, and is putting forth all her resources to postpone her inevitable doom. How false and hollow it all is, is proved by the exaggerated precautions taken, both in India and Ireland, lest the "loyal" subjects of England should come too near the person of the sovereign on such occasions. A writer in a recent number of the English "Daily News" gives the game away by telling us that "for several months past the police in the Indian service have been preparing for the visit of the king and queen. "In Delhi", says this writer, „the precautions are very elaborate". Even high officials wil not be permitted to introduce native guests to the Royal presence, unless they are known to the British authorities. For the actual Durbar the whole of the outer circle of Delhi will be ringed off".

One would almost think that the English government was in terror lest, instead of "Long live the Emperor George", some one might shout "Down with the Famine Emperor".

As we are writing, we read that George, King of England, has reached India and is being feasted and fed there in all the splendour that the Orient could conjure up. We do not conceal our feelings when we say that we are ashamed of our brethren who contribute to this exhibiton of slavery. They scarcely realise that they are descendants of men like Shivaji, Akbar, Hyder, Balaji, and the host of other great men of our country. They do not realise that they are prostituting their hereditary traditions and their natural intelligence. They do not know what a degradation it is to receive and do homage to a King of England who possesses Hindusthan because his ancestors were clever enough to swindle the Indians of their country. They do not know that they have nothing to thank the English king for, except the incessant plague and the ever recurring famine. They do not know that India is a British possession only for exploitation and commercial swindle. They do not know how the unscrupulous English people after having swindled them out of the possession of their country have with equal unscrupulousness stifled their indigenons commerce. They scarcely realise that the Indian Nation has an enormous burden in the shape of the present "Coronation" to pay, at the very time at which she is suffering from one of her chronic famines. If they should only realise all the horrors, all the misery, all the poverty and all that has made Hindusthan so wretched in the eyes of the world, they will be different men. They will not be the thoughtless and unenthusiastic and nearly degraded nation that they are. But, we ask, who is responsible for this state of affairs? It is not the mass of the population. It is the middle and the better educated classes. It is the duty of those people who understand and realise the the miserable state of the country to explain the real causes and effects to the masses. For, as everybody knows, in no country in the world has the mass of the population stirred itself, unless previously stirred by the uncompromising minority. Our readers also know that the uncompromising minority is always recreated from the educated and the middle classes. In Hindusthan at the present day we have already the uncompromising minority that works incessantly for the overthrow of the English regime. But they are few and far between. Their number is rather inadequate for the mighty task in front of them. We want more and more men who will be uucompromising in the glorious work of the liberation of our Motherland. If only a small fraction of those men who call themselves the leaders of the public opinion in Hindusthan should think that the "Coronation" is an exhibition of the slavishness of their country, we could have made the "Coronation" impossible, if not impossible, we could have made the show a miserable affair. Even now we are not sure if the show at Delhi will not be rendered miserable.

As we have already pointed above, to us the "Coronation" though it might be accomplished, is of no account. It will only be a regrettable incident in as much as "George of England" is to be crowned in Delhi, one of our proudest cities with traditions that can be traced back to the days of the great Mahabharata. The "Coronation" is not a great issue in our programme. Our great issue is the establishment of an independent self-government in Hindusthan. To attain that object we shall work untiringly to the end of our days. The sons and daughters of Hindusthan should know that the enemy planned this "Coronation" to turn to his own use the feelings of a sentimental people. He has planned this show to display his grandeur, and strike terror and awe into the minds of the people of Hindusthan. Those in Hindusthan who can think and judge for themselves why and wherefore all this has been got up, will understand the motives of the proverbially perfidious English nation. They should not be despirited but on the other hand pick up courage and determine in their minds that they shall not permit the "Coronation" of another English King in their sacred land. It lies in their hands. They have simply to determine and set to work to attain their object and they shall succeed as every nation has succeeded in the world before them. They have simply to look at World's History and they will be convinced at once.

We therefore appeal to those people of Hindusthan who have any claim to be considered educated to work among the masses of the population wilh the object of ending these "Coronations" and bringing about the establishment of a free and independent government in our Motherland.

BANDE MATARAM.

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The Spirit of Revolution.

The dawn of a new age.

"Whenever Dharma decays and Adharma prevails, I manifest myself without fail. For the protection of the Good, for the destruction of the Evil, for the firm establishment of righteousness upon earth, I am born from age to age." These are the ringing words in which Bhagavana Shri Krishna made his solemn covenant on the field of Kurukshetra. This covenant, this Divine solicitude for the welfare of the world, is not confined to one clime or to one age-it embraces all mankind, it covers all eternity. And we are witnessing its fulfilment even today. For do we not see the Spirit of Revolution treading the earth with slow, majestic steps from one end of the world to the other? Turkey has rid herself of a tyrant who was for thirty years delighting in the blood of his subjects and the cruel tortures to which he subjected his innocent victims, and she has now turned a new leaf, which is full of promise for her future civic life. Portugal has succeeded in driving out an inglorious dynasty from off her shores and in establishing a Republic which in spite of English gold and Spanish treason bids fair to give peace and good government to a patient and long suffering people. Persia too is carrying on a brave and heroic struggle against two of the most cruel scourges of humanity, the Russian Czar and the English people. The struggle is hard, the enemies are strong and powerful and unscupulous, and worst of all Persia has not yet found her centre of gravity, she has not gone back to the sources of her life, having found which alone she can afford to lough at her foes without the help of American financiers or Swedish gendarmes, but we are confident that the ancient land of Cyrus and Zarathusht, Naushirvan and the Sufis has sources of strength in her, untapped by her west-intoxicated patriots, and that she will rise once again to her pround position of honoured independence among the nations and once again illumine the world with her deep wisdom and undying sense of the beautiful, and now comes to us news that the Chinese nation has risen up against an order of things which made them submit without resistance to every vulture nations of the west that chose either to steal the land or insult their honour. The giant was asleep and did not know his strength and there was not one nation in the world that did not approach him and with gaping mouth and hungry eyes proceed to carve out portions out of his huge body. There was not one epithet of insult that was not flung at him. The hair of his head was a pig-tail, he was a dirty yellow dog, his civilisation was of the lowest type-why everything about him except his gold and his land, was base, low and unhuman. This was a state of things which a Chinaman true to his race could not bear for long. Belonging to one of those races which are the torch-bearers of civilisation, true civilisation and not its travesty as understood in the west, it would have been a miracle if it had gone on without striking a blow for honour and liberty. That world-rhythm which always brings back to Asia her glorious days of rich and exuberant energy in all the fields of life and thought and action had begun to set itself in motion and it would have been strange indeed if China that ever had a large share in those days of glorious activity, had been caught sleeping at such a time. But now she is up. Her Boxers had already prepared the soil by standing up for national dignity against the robber nations of the west and the east. Her young men perfected themselves in the making and handling of the modern weapons of war. A spirit of manly virtue and self control has becn imbibed by the people at large physically demonstrating it self in the national refusal to touch the drug (opium) which virtuous England had waged a war to force on them sixty years ago. And now comes the grand denouement. China will have nothing less than a national government on democratic lines. To the north and east and south and west the arms of her sons are victorious against the tyrant and the days do not appear far distant when China will enter the world's effective politics as the greatest democratic state in the world. We bless this noble endeavour on the part of Young China and wish her a complete and speedy success.

But old unworthy ideals not given up yet.

Of course the new age is not all of gold. Most of these new states have only removed some of the worst obstacles to good government while a great deal remains to be done in order to ensure justice and happiness to the whole people. The back of capitalism has not yet broken. On the contrary, every one of these peoples want to obtain a share in the prizes that the big capitalist nations of the world are reaping in the markets of the weak and ignorant. And the ideals of the peoples are turned towards wealth and conquest and not towards Righteousness and justice which alone can give permanent peace to the world.

Again we see how France and Germany have decided that Morocco shall hereafter be a vassal of France. And in Tripoli a quiet and peaceful people have been attacked in the most barbarous manner by Italy. Barely fifty years have elapsed since Italy was in the grip of a tyrant master, and yet today the country where Mazzini preached and for which Garibaldi bled, is carrying on and aggressive war on a brave but unarmed people, and inflicting blood thirsty vengeance on those Tripolitans whose only sin is that they defend their motherland whith the same zeal with which Italians themselves defended theirs, not fifty three years ago. Such is the righteousness of a modern European state.

Instability of the present.

But this politics of robbery and jobbery has continued in the world too long and has made of it a desert and a wilderness, Chivalry and honour have given place to the balance sheet and profit-and-loss, dignity and self-respect to bragadocio and violence, nobility of taste and culture, to luxury and extravagance, and heroism and manhood to cowardly butchery. The springs of our charity are dried up and a heartsearing selfishness has taken its place. Woe unto the world if it goes on like this even a decade more.

Signs, however, are not wanting of a decided change of outlook that is coming about in the ideas of humanity at the present moment The sharp reaction in the west from the materialistic ideas of a hundred and fifty years was one of those signs. The doctrines of socialism that are now preached on almost all platforms from London to Yokohama and NewYork to San Francisco are another. These ideas are still in their infancy. But they have an immence vitality about them. The world can not forget the fights that the socialists fought, though unsuccessfully, for Ferrer the patriot hero of Spain. Nor will it be less grateful to those righteous men of Italy who obstructed the passage of troops to Tripoli.

The Duty of Hindusthan.

But the movements in the west towards peace and universal brotherhood — the positivist, socialist etc. — do not appear to be all embracing a greater synthesis than that made by these movements is necessary. And what nation is more fit to make that synthesis and bring down as it were a kingdom of heaven upon the earth, than our beloved Hindusthan? The ideals of other nations had been conquest and glory, commerce or empire. It is our Hindusthan alone that declared to the world in clear majestic tones that self development and self knowledge was the end to be reached by men and preached self sacrifice and disintrested services to others as the means by which to attain that end. It is our motherland alone that sent missionaries all over the known world to spread religion and righteousness and not to open up new countries for commerce ar conquest. She alone had the courage to give her all and take nothing in return and yet she was filled a hundredfold for all her gifts.

At present indeed we are fallen on evil days. The inevitable decay that has upto now attacked not merely the nations of the east as foolish people in the west are continually insisting, but all nations of the world whatever the longitude under which they live, attacked Hindusthan also and she fell from her proud position of exemplare of humanity. And now we find her in the grip of a cruel tyrant that is bent upon ruining her materially, morally and spiritually. But she has already resolved to collect herself to lay the tyrant low and take up once again the rôle of teacher of the world. For she has begun to realise the degradation and shame, ruin and disgrace to which her connection with England has reduced her. And she knows that the ills that the world today suffers under, are almost all due to her. She knows that but for her being known as the richest and most magnificent country in the world, America had remained undiscovered till a better civilisation had humanised Europe and the magnificent race known as the Red Indian had been preserved. She knows that the Negroes were enslaved, the Bushman were destroyed Egypt was conquered, Persia is being oppressed, all on account of her name and fame, and having thus been the cause (indirectly it may be but none the less truly) of the ruin of the four continents, is it not her solemn duty now to shake herself of all her lethargy and rise not merely to save herself but establish Dharma every where? In the silence of my soul I hear her awful voice "It is my duty to rise and save Humanity! My spirit has already gone fourth in the world for I am the spirit of Revolution! for the protection of the Righteous, for the destruction of the Evil, for the firm establishment of Dharma am I born again today in the world! Prepare thou the way."

What shall we do then?

As the day passes by the chains of slavery are tightening around our neck, and the nation is in such a position now as if she is gasping for the last breath. The millions are dying for the want of food every year, longivity of the people is decreasing, vitality of the mass and the nation is dwindling; but the sham sickening, bustling and glittering of prosperity is twinkling and traitors, cowards and sychophants are cringing, nay, praising the tyrants and demanding a golden chain of slavery, instead of a sharp steel one while the so-called leaders of the country are praying to the enemy

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mercy, and demanding recognition of their position as British subjects which is analogous to British slaves and worse than that of the despised rank of the Roman helots.

Oh! The crime of deceiving the people and the commission of villany have reached the zenith; and it is unbearable that as a sign of protest, if not as the signal of the outburst of revolt, not a soul raises a voice which will roar like a thunderbolt and serve as the illuminating searchlight to determine our course and to disperse the deadening darkness of slavery!

It is a monstrous hypocrisy to make an attempt to befriend the enemy. The enemity between the people of Hindusthan and the British rule is not a mere sentimental thing but it is a very serious fact. Because, as it stands to-day, the interests of the parties stand opposed to each other. The students of the world have determined once for all by the economic interpretation of history that enemity or war is based upon conflicting interest. We are at war with the British rule. The friends of Hindus are the avowed enemies of the British rule. There can not be any compromie between right and wrong, there can not be any alliance between truth and lie and there cannot be any bond of friendship between two enemies. But the leaders of Hindusthan are making the lavish display of loyalty to the tyrants. The slaves cannot be truly loyal and the British government knows it well; and so she is tightening the chains and using the rods more mercilessly than ever.

Ah! We feel as if our bones are being crushed, and the arteries choked with the heavy preasure of shame. All the Hindi Princes, even the fading but the glorious remnents — the descendants of the Suryabangsha and Chandrabangsha and those of the valiant and the majestic Mogul and Pathan rulers — are coming down to Delhi to bow down to George and thus to solemnly declare before the world and to the people of Hindusthan that they are recognized slaves of the king emperor of the intruders and plunderers of our blessed Motherland! Imagine the scene and you will be horrified at the conception of the idea that, Self-respect, Human Dignity and National Prestige are going to be banished from the land of the sages, my beloved Motherland, the sacred Hindusthan! Oh! Are we from the same Hindusthan where the ancient Arya mothers taught their children to sacrifice life rather than accumulate national disgrace? Are we the children of the mothers like Chand Bibi and Lakshmi Bhai?

This is robbery; this is the most vicious outrage; this is sucking the blood of the people. Oh! The lavish expenditure of millions to display royal grandeur of the villains and the tyrants and that in spite of the ghost of a famine staring in the face of the people.

The holy land of the *rishies* is now the dancing spot of the ferierghu wretches. Some body from the very inner-most part of our hearts is whispering — these are the effects of the unworthy life you have led; purify the atmosphere with the fire of selflessness and offer your heart and soul with all devotion and active energy, and again Hindusthan will become the Paradise on Earth.

The lack of strength and preponderance of weakness is the disease we are suffering from. We need strength. Let us make an attempt to find out where is the source of real strength. The real strength lies in the consciousness of strength. Consciousness is the sign of life. The brute force without the consciousness of its real significance cannot be relied on in any particular case. A brute hypnotised can be used as a factor of service or a slave as we often see the elephants used in the mills to carry heavy loads in the most submissive way; but it is not at all rare that a man of poor constitution can control the action of the millions.

Our country has produced and is producing great men and women but they are not doing their part collectively; some of them have already complained very bitterly that they are not appreciated by the people and have not got opportunity to play their part. But in the close analysis of the facts we are inclined to believe that either these leaders lack the ability to understand the people and their line of thought or the people are ignorant enough to understand the good ideas of them.

There is the cry of the so called leaders for mass-education and to our utter disgust, but not to the least surprise, they are praying for alms even in this case. Education, true enlightenment, is the only road to liberty and can it be possible that those who want to keep us in perpetual slavery will ever help us to find out the right path leading to our Liberation? Education, Liberty and all those things sublime for which the life is worth living are never gifts but acquirements. But why is then this cry and prayer at the door of the alien government? Mr. Gokhale is crying to his master and Mr. Montague wrathfully but rightly has replied that if the people of India want education let them do it for themselves.

It declares the audacity of the hypocrits that the enemy will supply us with the instrument of acquirement of freedom-true education. For us that education is of no value but is rather dangerous which does not inspire the people with the ideal of nationalism. The educational system while controlled by aliens will certainly act as a very effective means and most powerful weapon for demoralising the people of Hindusthan. When should we learn if we do not take notice when the examples are staring at our face! Were we not taught that Sivaji was a robber, Nana Sahib was a rebel and Tantiatopi a leader of thugs? Were we not taught that our fore-fathers were fools and we had no civilization to speak of and the British Government is a boon to save us from a constant civil war? We need free education, we need universal education, we need it in such a way that there will not be a village in Hindusthan without a free school; but these schools must be under national control. These schools must serve as fountains which will feed the strong current of nationalism. It is better to have no schools than to have some to demoralize and denationalize us. The nation is yet living in the heart of Hindusthan. It is in the villages where the ancient traditions are zealously remembered and pondered. Once the tradition of the nation is lost and the chances of recovering the national strength and solidarity are seriously weakened.

The days of theorising are gone. Look at the facts and incidents and analyse them and you will see the signs on the wall. You are praying for free education and we see in the columns of the *Maratha* of a very recent date the Bombay government is raising the tution fee of the schools. Did you not notice that many private institutions of higher learning had to shut their doors owing tothe ruthless measure of barbarism which is known as the University Act. Pray tell then why do you exhaust your energy in begging but not in attempting to work out our own salvation by our own exertions. Are we ignorant of the British policy? I suppose not because it is as old as the days of Aristotle. But lest we forget let us think of it again!

"For preservation of tyranny it is necessary to keep down those who are of aspiring tone, to allow no public meals, no clubs. NO EDUCATION, nor anything at all but to guard against everything which is wont give rise to high spirits or mutual confidence, not to suffer schools or learned meetings of those who have leisure for discussion and to endeavour by every means possible to keep all people strangers to each other.

We often try to excuse ourselves with the pretexts that we have no money. But have we ever thought how much money is spent for Victoria Memorials, Durbars; Jubilees and Coronation festivities! Let us be frank here; why should we not have the amount of a crore and half which is going to be squandered for the vaunting show of the greatness of the British government for the free education? Why do you ask for another special taxation? We need solid works than big talks: to us it is very evident that *money is not the principal thing at all.* We need men of right spirits and proper ideal. *Men create money but money cannot buy a real man. We lack self sacrifice we lack perseverance and consistence of purpose.* No use of talking, if we do not see our own weakness. Why is it that we notice in the columns of our Bengali vernacular papers the sad news that the national college is suffering for the want of proper aid of funds, co-operation of the teachers and even for the want of students? Allow us to tell you that we are worse off than the negroes of the United States politically, financially and even educationally. Over 65% of the negroes in the United states can read and write and in India 10% of the people can read and write. Let us be ashamed to know that we are not doing one tenth as much for the education of our people as the educated negro youngmen and women are doing. Hundreds of young collegemen and ladies are teaching the negro children free of charge. There is the Hindu proverb and the tradition that there is no higher gift than the gift of education. Our only hope lies with the mass people of India. But as I have said before that we have often heard of the accusation that the mass people of India do not know their own good and thus do not follow their real well-wishers. It might be facts. — "It is the want of real confidence that leads the people to reject the good proposals". Then we see that the people have no confidence in the so-called leaders of the country and to our judgment they do not deserve any confidence who do not prove their worth by their practical sympathy and self-sacrifice for the cause of the people. *The only way open to us is that we should go to the people and by our actions create confidence in their minds.*

We need sustained energy. Let us not be unmindful of the truths preached in Mahatharata that before the great war of Kurukshetra. There must have Arjunas who will go to unknown world to acquire the best military knowledge and also the true leaders should lead the most secluded life. Real work must be in the underground process. Agitation is needed to spread the idea. Education of right short is desired to acquire strength and measures for solid organizations are essentails to future success. Are we doing anything for these?

The above three articles written by comrades are published as they come to hand. There is the oft told tale that British Rule in Hind is tyrannical and swindling and we must rise against it.

However, the fact remains that we do not know yet how to purify the materials at hand, and "the product of one individual's brain or the conception of one philosopher" or the work and energy of one class or community can never make the idea fruitful. *The Revolution must spring from the heart of a nation* as we see it in Persia today where the people are shouting *"Freedom or Death".*

Bhikhaiji Rustom Cama.

BANDE MATARAM.

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THE Bande Mataram

Monthly Organ of Indian Independence.

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.
(Gautama Buddha).

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Awake, Oh! Hindustan.

From one end of Asia to the other the nations and peoples except in the peninsula of Hindustan, are awaking to a sense of their rights as men and moving to emancipate themselves from foreign tutelage and rule. In the *Far East* we have seen the Japanese emerging from their seclusion of centuries, adopt western mechanical and scientific civilization, and by its use in their own hands give effective check to the aggression of Russia. At no time did the Japanese people bow their heads to Western rule, or by internal dissensions of a political or religious character give an opportunity to a foreign power to intervene in their domestic affairs and bring them under military subjection. The consequence is that Japan stands to day at the head of the independent nations of Asia and compels the respect of all the governments of the world.

China, that great unorganised mass of humanity, that has undergone a servitude of three centuries to a foreign dynasty without intelligence or power and has allowed itself to be robbed and degraded, has at length risen in its might to assert its independence and overthrow its effete and incompetent rulers. The only difference that has arisen so far among its leaders in reform and progress, has been the extent of the political change in the form of government, whether to convert it into one of a republican or limited monarchic type. It is not necessary here to pass judgement on the matter, as the Chinese people and their leaders have shown so much practical wisdom in the conduct of the revolution that they may well be left to decide for themselves. It has been reported that the Japanese, Russian and British governments were favouring a confederation of the provinces of China on the German model under an Emperor with limited power, and that the French and the United States governments were inclined to promote a republic on the American plan. What truth there may be in these statements, made on what appears to have been good authority, cannot be determined, but the proposals put forward by the two most prominent men at present in China, Yuan-Shi-Kai and Wu Fang seem to bear out the suggestion in the rumours. The Japanese government was said to be trying to influence the man who has the credit of being the father of the Chinese revolution, Sun Yat Sen, to work for the reconcilliation of the partisans of republicanism and limited imperialism, so as to bring about the restoration of peace and order as soon as possible in order to avert foreign intervention and perhaps the break-up of China.

Whatever may be the outcome of the revolution, this last is one to be avoided at all risks. The salvation of Asia depends on it. A united China, strong in its immense population and its new found political and military vigour, allied with Japan, would change the destiny of half the human race, and rescue it from the effects of the economic slavery and bastard Christianity that now oppress the other half. The banner of Asiatic freedom and civilation has been raised in China and Japan, and it is to it, as it floats in the eastern sky that the eyes of all Asiatics should turn, and not to the west with its debased and immoral civilization.

In Western Asia, we see the two champion robbers of Asia after years of enmity, come to terms over Afghanistan and Persia, with the further intention of despoiling the Ottoman Empire if and whenever opportunity offers. In their mountain stronghold the Afghans may be left undisturbed untill the surrounding regions are reduced to subjection by England and Russia, and their turn will comme unless the Moslems of India and Russia and the other peoples of India put their veto on the piracy. Meantime, Persia which has been betrayed to Russia by its own Sovereigns, Nasar-ed-din in the past and Mohammed Ali in the present, is in process of being partitioned and subjugated to be exploited and robbed as India and Egypt have been by England and the central Asian Khanates and the Caucusus by Russia, and as Italy contemplates whith Tripoli.

The responsibility for these aggressions lies primarily at the door of the Indian princes and people. If in the revolution of 1857, when the hearts of the Indian people were fired with the love of freedom and hatred of their foreign oppressor, the princes of Hindustan had sunk their jealousies and ambitions and united to deliver their Motherland from his grasp, India could have been to day a mighty confederation like the German Empire with five times its power, the leading nation of Asia and the hope of liberty every where. But instead of that what do we see? A people so degraded from prince to *rayat*, that they gather at the command of their foreign rulers to do homage to a king across the seas and acclaim him as their Emperor. If the people of India were few and weak they might be objects of pity in such circumstances, but as it is they are only worthy of contempt for their slavish submission. By mere force of numbers alone they could by boycotting every thing English and refusing all social and political relations with the foreign officials,

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make the occupation of India so unprofitable that the English people themselves would be glad to let India go. Instead of that they fall over each other in servile adulation of their alien rulers, seek their favour, petition for places in their administration, serve in their army and at their commands march against the Afghans, Thibetans, Persians and other free people in order that the English may make slaves of them as they have of Indians themselves.

It is a terrible and humilating spectacle to see the men of a race with such traditions of greatness and civilization as the Indians possess become the serfs of a piratical nation on an island in the North Sea of Europe, and the worst kind of serfs — willing ones. It is all the more terrible because it is the treason of the Indian princes and the servility of the masses of India that has made the English strong to rob China, Turkey and Persia, and force Russia to join with them and France in the plunder of Asia and Africa. It is also the servility of the Princes and people of India that has sent so many patriots to the gallows and the penal settlements. In a word, it is their debasement of soul, their cowardice and jealousies, that maintain the rule of the conqueror in India.

Awake, Oh! Hindustan! Look at Japan: take example by China; stretch out your hand to help the Persians struggling for their lives and liberties with the murdering, plundering governments of England and Russia, and stand by the Afghans in the maintenance of their freedom and independence.

Awake, Oh! people of Hindustan,
and be Free Men.

NEMO.

"Who overcomes by force hath overcome but half his foe"

were the words of Milton when a crowd of Satanic host was overcome by the force of the justice of a merciful Heaven. We do not know what he would have said when a nation of non-aggressive, peaceful and contented people were overcome by a set of greedy and rapacious islanders, children of his own race, not by the force of their valour which we suspect they had very little at first but by the force of their fraud which they may complacently term "diplomacy" or "strokes of policy". "Whoever overcomes by fraud overcomes" we shall have to leave the rest to Milton himself.

Almost all the primary laws of humanity were set at naught in this wonderful English conquest of India. Hospitality was violated, treachery encouraged, honour sacrificed, forgery committed, perjury honoured, and a host of other things done to achieve the so-called conquest of Hindusthan. In Bengal, the hospitality of the Nawab was repaid with treachery, and when treachery was about to meet its award, it was made good by forgery of hand and by perjury of tongue. The history of India after the advent of the English, offers an interesting study in Ethics as it clearly shows how one transgression of morality has to be maintained by a series of others, and how in his temporary elation the transgressor is apt to forget himself until eternal justice overtakes him and causes the violation of its laws to rebound with accumulated effect upon his accursed head. With such a unique conquest over our land and backed up by such wonderful traditions, the English sovereign the other day crowned himself at Delhi as the Emperor of India amidst the vociferous effusions of loyalty which in their heart of hearts both the rulers and the ruled knew to be nothing but downright cant and hypocrisy. Different in religion, different in civilisation, with their interests so vitally opposed to each other that the very existence of the one depends upon the ruin of the other and fully conscious of such an inter-relation, the gracious Anglo-saxon sovereign and his "good" Indian subjects enacted on the 12th December last, a drama on the amphitheatre at Delhi unparalleled in the history of any other nation.

In this drama of insincerity and dissimulation there occurred a marvellous scene where the gracious George undertook to distribute with liberal hands his munificent gifts to the admiring multitudes of his subjects in commemoration of the historic event of his coronation. The gifts that were doled out were truly regal and worthy of a king of England over whose dominions the sun takes care never to set. Fifty lacs of rupees from the Indian Exchequer for the payment of European professors in the name of education, the annulment of the partition of Bengal made by one of his own unscrupulous agents, the release of some civil and sundry prisoners, the payment of a few creditors with a sum not exceeding four thousand rupees per presidency and a host of valueless titles sparingly conferred upon the natives of the soil, form the sum total of the boons showered by his Mock Majesty from the high platform of Delhi! The whole affair would not have appeared so ludicrous as it does at present, had there been no chapter of the bestowel of gifts by the self-styled Emperor in the programme of the coronation.

The liberality of the Sovereign could not induce his benevolent mind to remove a single unjust tax that heavily weighs upon the millions of this poverty-stricken land. He seeks to satisfy their hunger for food with a paltry donation for their education, a sum squeezed out of their own thin purse and some empty titles, as if he wished that their grones under the weight of his iron yoke should become more erudite.

When poverty, famine and misery are rampant all over the atmosphere of Hindusthan, here comes her gracious sovereign in all his splendour to Delhi to open his glorious Durbar and receive the faithful homage of his dear Indian subjects.

The Durbar is anohter scourge added by this High Protector of the Indians to their overburdened list of miseries. The poor peasant and villager who drudges his whole life to find a single meal every day is forced under severe threats by the king's underlings to contribute the few pies of his toil for grandly celebrating the coronation of a self-styled benevolent and gracious Emperor. In the face of such deliberate and merciless feeling, he has the audacity to lie openly and to assure bare-facedly before these oppressed and indigent masses that their welfare and prosperity is ever the object of his earnest solicitude and consideration. This empty verbal assurance which every body from his Mendacious Majesty down to the meanest constitutional agitator knows to be absolutely false, is taken up by the despicable sychophants who have not the courage even to remain silent, as a fitting opportunity for the lavishing of their inordinate praise or rather flattery. Persons who have never known what a Durbar or a coronation is, burst into the wildest comparisons and begin to assert with shameless voice that the coronation of the 12th December far surpasses those of Rama and Judishter. They do not seem to recognise that the present object of the coronation is a downright tyrant and an alien and has nothing in common with his subjects except that the latter are plundered to benefit the former as long as his regime is destined to last.

They pretend not to know that one who is a *Mlechha* to our language, customs and civilisation could never be hailed in the nature of things, with the same acclamations of joy as one of our own countrymen would be. Let these toadies and flatterers ponder as they choose; for, everyone knows including themselves that their words are never meant te be seriously taken. We are not concerned much about them, for these lick-spittles are sure to sing the glories of every victor irrespective of his being righteous or not. But what we are really sorry for, is the ravage that this unhappy coronation has wrought in the already poverty stricken households of the Indian masses. More than ten crores of rupees have been wasted at a time of famine and death impoverishing the Indians and swelling the pockets of the Englishmen. English railway companies, English artisans, English engineers, English workmen, down to the English labourer have been the main recepients of this large sum of money, which has been painfully contributed by the needy Indian tax-payer. Besides, all the influential classes of British India, such as the *Zamindars*, *Jahagirdars*, etc., have been actually forced to spend large sums even by begging, borrowing or stealing whenever they could not otherwise afford. The most wonderful feature about the whole transaction being that every one from the Raja to the destitude starveling of a village *Patel*, has been compelled to put up a show of perfect contentment and superme satisfaction. We are sure that in many of the petty *Zamindaris* the servants will not receive their monthly pittance regulary for some years to come on account of the drain caused by this beneficent coronation on the *Zamindari* exchequer; the poor *ryots* will have to drudge hard in order to fill up the emptied coffers. And perhaps it may take another coronation for the indigent population of India to recover from the blow that this present coronation has given. They must thank their stars if the next coronation did not come sooner. But we need not despair so long considering the way in which the masses of India are gradually awakening and the shock that this coronation will give in the matter of rousing them up.

One noticeable feature about the present coronation is the declaration by the English king of the removal of the seat of government from Calcutta to Delhi. Though it should evoke a deep and strong feeling of resentment in the heart of every genuine Hindu and Mussulman, yet the tradition of Delhi affords a ground for consolation. It has been the chief delight of the presiding Deity of Delhi fortunately (we shall not say unfortunately this time at any rate) to overturn thrones and subvert empires since the very earliest memories of history and we hope that Delhi will model her near future consistently with her past traditions. After the defeat of the *Chohan* King, Prithi Raj, it has seen seven dynasties rearing their thrones in proud succession only to kiss the dust after a period of

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short-lived existence. The Ghori, the Slave, the Khilji, the Toughlak, the Sayad, the Lodi and the Moghul have all contributed to perpetuate this tradition of Delhi, and we hope that the foundation stone laid by the sion of the last of our tyrant dynasties will help to prove the truth of this tradition.

BANDE MATARAM.

The demoralisation of Hindusthanies in British Colonies.

Our Indian Nationalists do not seem to have paid any attention to the condition of Indians in the British Colonies and Protectorates. It would be very interesting to read in this connection the Blue-Books of the British Government. It would be seen that even as early as 1837 Mr. Frowell Buxton, Lord Brongham, and others had denounced the system of indentured Indian Emigration as a form of slavery in disguise to replace the perishing slavery of negroes, who had just been emancipated. From the minutes of evidence etc., it can be clearly seen that poor men and women — ignorant villagers — have been, since the *abolition of slavery*, kidnapped or abducted from the districts of Arrah, Fyzabad, Gaya etc., and some of the districts of Madras, particularly Telangan, if not by the British Government of India, directly, with their connivance or help by the paid agents of the British Colonies like Natal, Mauritius, Fiji, Demerara, Trinidad, the Straits Settlements etc. The whole evidence given by British Officials and others, who are not at all connected with our Nationalists, but just the reverse, tends to show that we Indians, of the better classes or families, have been sleeping all the time that our brothers and sisters of the poorer classes or lower castes have been sold into slavery to work for the colonial whites, including French, Spanish and Dutch exploiters of coloured labour. From these very books, it results that our "forced labourers" are unable to protect themselves, when ill-treated oppressed or persecuted by their employers and that the so-called Protectors of Indian Immigrants are as a rule, by racial inclination, as well as interest, the Protectors of Planters. At first no women were sent with the men — but when unnatural crimes, rapes, murders etc., became the surface symtoms of the social disease, caused by the British system of indentured Indian Immigration, a certain number of women per hundred men began to be sent. The number varied from 10, 15, 20, 25, 25, 33, 40 to 60 per cent, for various periods and various colonies, and the result is a most demoralized *Varnasankara*, mixed Indian population, in the colonies, whose family origin, it is as a rule, shocking to know and revolting to state. The majority of the women sent out with the men are not necessarily their wives, though some of them are persuaded to register themselves as wives of such and such persons before leaving the Emigration Ports, Calcutta or Madras, as the case may be — others reconcile themselves to their fate on the voyage and select husbands — and those who still remain are obliged to find out a husband or husbands after reaching the colonies. The work, the food, the surroundings and the persecution on these plantations are enough to brutalize an angel and our own brothers and sisters grow up to be men and women who would compare most unfavourably with their relatives in the Indian villages, whom they have left behind.

Whole families of colonial-born Indians are not in a position to state their origin without blushing, though some of them have received education and managed to make money; but this is a very small percentage. The laws and the administration and particularly the administrators in these Colonies give every facility to perpetuate this bondage of our brothers and sisters who are practically coerced into continuing slaves of their white masters, even after they have finished their original indentures. Thus they force time expired Indian coolies in Natal to renew their "contracts" by imposing a poll tax of £ 3 a year. In Mauritius labourers are debauched with liquors or persecuted with prosecutions on trumpery charges to get them to re-indenture. These men and women who have been fed by Mother India, are exploited while youth and health last, by the British Colonies and sent back if or when they are physical wrecks, to beg, starve and perish on the streets of the cities of India or to be a charge or burden on their poor relatives in the villages. Thousands of our brothers and sisters have been thus periodically sacrificed to the gold hunger of the British Colonies. Their youth, health and purity are dissipated and their caste and religion destroyed in this process of exploitation. Some of the women are forced or kicked out of their Indian husband's bed to yield to the wild lust of European or semi-white overseers of labourers, and seduction by offering higher wages or lighter work is very common on most plantations. It is marvellous how even in these circumstances, man for man the Indian is a more human and trustworthy person than the richer and more "civilized" white, semi-white or negro-creoles, for whom, with whom or among whom, he has to work and live. It is simply superhuman that out of this raging flood of general demoralization, the Indian emerges superior on account of his solid racial instincts derived from Mother India, on whose bosom he has been nursed by birth or descent.

There must be more than a million persons in the colonies to whom the above description or parts of it apply. Is it not now high time, that we should open our eyes and do all we can to prevent this breaking up of the homes of Indian villagers, seduction of daughters, sisters, wives and mothers and the general dissolution of racial, social, religious, caste and family ties, which this British system of indentured Indian labour Emigration involves.

BANDE MATARAM.

An Irish-Indian Propagandist.

The death is announced from India of Sister Nivedita (Miss Margaret E. Noble). She was born in Ireland of an Ulster family, her father being a Presbyterian minister. Her Irish nationality led her to espouse the cause of downtrodden India, and after her meeting with that great leader of Indian thought, Swami Vivekenanda, she devoted her life entirely to the uplifting of the women of India. As a Hindu correspondent writes: "She was one of those children of Erin who in all ages have gone out to fight the battles of their country in other lands, in different climes and on other fields".

It is not the first time that one of Ireland's children has gone out to India, carrying hatred to England and her inhuman rule. Among the most conspicuous was Count Lally, the father of the famous Count Lally de Tollendal of the court of Louis XV, of France, who was the successor of Dupleix, the founder of the French rule in India. Had Count Lally been supported by the French Government the conditions in India would have been very different from what they are to-day. Besides Count Lally there were Irishmen in the armies of the native princes who fought against England.

Miss Noble was one of those children of Ireland who fought her country's battle in another land, and so completely did she identify herself with those among whom she had thrown her lot that she assumed the Hindu name of Nivedita, the better to carry on her work among the Hindu women. She firmly believed in the future greatness of India, and associated herself with those who gave the first impulse to the Nationalist movement. The British authorities endeavoured at different times to prove her connection with Irish Fenians and the Indian revolutionary movement, but failed, although, to the last her sympathies were with both. She conducted a girls free school in Calcutta, being of the conviction *that unless the women of India are educated intelligently and patriotically, the power and influence of their foreign oppressors cannot be effectively overthrown.*

In Calcutta, which was the centre of her work, her death is regarded as a calamity, and all India which knew her by her writings and teachings mourns her loss.

The Gaelic American.

SWEDESHIS. Sister Niveditta's death is an irrepairable loss to Hind. She was so much trusted for her honesty and sincerity that an American lady, Mrs. Olive Bull, left £ 30,000 to her to use it in any way she liked best, for Hind's emancipation. Unfortunately the daughter of Mrs. Olive Bull contested the will and sister Nivedetta lost the legacy. There is no doubt that the memories of both these noble foreign women will be cherished and respected always in Hindoosthan. But, however, the painful fact remains that the daughters of Hind are neglecting their duty, and after squandering or hoarding their money in their life time, only think of leaving it to their children or relations. Let us earnestly wish that our women should put a stop to their misquided thrift and follow the noble example of the two ladies mentioned above and study the following will and testament of sister Nivedetta.

BANDE MATARAM.
Bhikhaiji Rustom Cama.

NOTES.

"Civic and National Ideals"

All that Sister Nivedita possessed she has left for the education of "our women," as she loved to say. All income derived from her writings is to be devoted according to her last wishes to the education of Indian women. Some of her writings have long been available

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in book form. Others are still in manuscript. Some, and they too are of great value, lie scattered in the pages of various newspapers and periodicals to which she contributed. These and her manuscripts, it has been decided to publish in a series of small handy volumes. We are glad to find that the first volume of the series is ready. It has been styled "Civic and National Ideals," and can be had at the *Udbodhan* Office, Baghbazar, Calcutta, at Re. 1 per copy. The contents are: The Civic Ideal, Civic Elements in Indian Life. The Modern Epoch and Nationality, Indian Unity, The Idian National Congress, The Principle of Nationality, The Function of Art in Shaping Nationality, The Message of Art, Indian Sculpture, Indian Painting Shah Jahan Dreaming of the Taj, The Passing of Shah Jahan, and The Sati.

Modern Review.

P.S. The readers will find it *also* interesting to see the following opinion of sister Niveditta about Hindu wives, *in a paragraph also from The Modern Review, November 1911.*

(Recollections of Sister Niveditta by X.)

Her idea of Indian wives was very high. She said— "Why should you be content with your wives being merely good housekeepers, cooks and nurses?

These things are good, but not the best. Your wives to be fully true to their position must be your helpmates in your highest achievements. Teach them to help you in writing your researches... I am staggered when I think of the immense prestige and power which the husband enjoys in Indian Society. It is a terrible thing. It dwarfs the wife, and I often think it would be good for the husbands themselves, if their wives were less soft and sweet."

Her Brother's tribute.

generally look forward very much to reading the "*Modern Review*". This month your number naturally has a melancholy interest for one, though that melancholy is mixed with satisfaction and pleasure, because it is a testimony of the kindly feeling that many Indian workers had for my sister. Perhaps you may think it unusual and immodest for a brother to come forward and speak of his sister, yet, in writing to you I can assure you it is not any motive of immodesty which prompts me, but rather a feeling of gratitude to you all.

There were two sides to my sister's life which were not always known, one her great religious feeling, and the other, her ardent national fervour. These two attributes with her were so closely interwoven that it might truly be said, that there was one thing which she stood for, and not two, namely, the unquestionable right of a people to express themselves in the terms of their own heredity. This we have cause to understand in the country from wich I write, where various reactionaries, both so-called Nationalists and socalled Unionists, seek to persuade the people to make themselves more or less bad imitations of other nations, and to forsake the genius of their Gaelic ancestors. That is one of the secrets of Ireland's decadence, the denationalising process which has been going on in the form of Anglicisation. To counteract this we have to seek to revive the Gaelic language, the Gaelic dances, the Gaelic customs, and to consolidate Irish farmers so that they may be as little as possible the prey of the Gombeen Middleman. In other words the problem that faces us here is to conserve the traditions of the Irish race. I expect, you have, as we have, persons who say that our policy is reactionary, that we are seeking to make a people national when the tendency of the time is to make them inter-national, and that we are preventing them from doing well in the world. One's reply to that is that no one can truly be inter-national before he has first learnt to be national, that in making him national and in making him use the medium of experience which was used by his forefathers, we are giving him backbone, we are giving him individuality, and we are making him a stronger and a better man, than he otherwise would have been, and that in so doing we are enabling him to make his way better in the world, than he otherwise would have done. We know, for we have seen it, that the Irishman who wants nothing of what his country is to him, lacks *morale*, and is really nothing more than a decadent and a degenerate. Our materialistic friends who dwell upon commercial success overlook this very important factor in the education of a human being.

From Justice.

The Shoddy Durbar.

King Geordie's held his Durbur Show,
Wi' shoddy tinsel a' aglow;
Nae doot his flunkies thoct it braw;
But honest folks their pows will claw;
Auld Hyndman he will loose his jaw,
And tell the folks that after a'
There's naething hated like the truth;
That by cunning, craft, and stealth
The country has been drained o' wealth;
That thousands there are starved to death,
That plague and famine stalk the earth.
I' ve often thocht I'd send for Meath
To gae the Calton folks his breath.
Upon the great possessions they
Have got beyond the Himalay.
And while they live in hovels glum
To mind King Geordie's morning drum,
It never ceases 'neath the sun,
But ever outward onward rolls,
While the Planet spins atween her poles.

JAMES DICK GILMOUR.

Extravagance and Penery in India.

The following letter appeared in the *Times* of December 14:—

"Sir,—I observe that the policy proclaimed by the King-Emperor at Delhi has been received with almost general approbation. You have allowed me for more than a full generation to show up the seamy side of our rule in India. You will, therefore, perhaps permit me to point out that, although at least £ 1,200,000 have been spent on this gorgeous Durbar of princes and officials and £ 4,000,000 more are estimated as the expenditure necessary to provide new official quarters at the capital of Delhi, but a beggarly £ 300,000 or so are provided for the education of 224,000,000 of people over and above the miserable amounts now allocated for this purpose. This very year, moreover, nearly half of India escaped desperate famine by little short of a miracle, and there is terrible misery extending over a large area at present being dealt with. This very year, too, poor India will pay to rich England at least £ 30,000,000 without commercial return. And Hindustan is supposed to be in ecstasies!

"Yours faithfully,

"H. M. HYNDMAN."

To Siberia.

Young Russian Exiles Pelted with Flowers.

ST. PETERSBURG, Nov. 8.

A dramatic scene occured to-day in one of the St. Petersburg law courts, where sentence of exile to Siberia was to be pronounced in its final form on nine members of the St. Petersburg Social Democratic Committee. A number of friends of the accused, mostly young men and women, who were in Court, carried bouquets of red flowers. The prisoners were brought in, escorted by two gendarmes each. Twenty more gendarmes were drawn up in front of the barrier separating the public from the court.

Before the pronouncement of sentence one of the prisoners, a student named Federoff, asked permission to make a statement. His request was refused. All the accused stood up and declared that they did not wish to attend the further proceedings. "Very well, remove them!" ordered the President of the Court. There was a commotion among the prisoners' friends, who pressed close up to the barrier, and the gendarmes were ordered to draw their swords. *Notwithstanding* this the prisoners were pelted with flowers as they were taken from the court, which was subsequently cleared. It is reported that several of the demonstrators have been arrested.—Reuter.

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THE Bande Mataram

Monthly Organ of Indian Independence.

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.
(Gautama Buddha).

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SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF

IBRAHEEM NASEEF

EL WARDANI.

"NOT DEAD BUT GONE BEFORE".

It is not untimely to call back what happened two years ago i. e. on the 20th Feb. 1910 when The Egyptian Martyr Wardani; with uncomparable courage and firmness shot the traitor Boutros.

The noble youth was as usual tortured in a prison for full four months; and at last he was killed in name of Justice.

An Egyptian friend tells me that on 29th June, at 5 o'clock in the morning when the martyr Wardani was called up to be executed; he came out of his cell with majestic steps; and mounted the scaffold; as if he was mounting a throne. There was a superbe calm about him, and there was also his habitual smile on his youthful face; and with a dignity that kings might envy, he left a heritage to his friends and countrymen in the following few words—

"I feel that to die, fighting for liberty and independance of my motherland is a glory of God".

His last words can never be forgotten; and there is not the least doubt that the despotic English protorate; and the servile Khedivial rule will come to an end, and Egypt will be a free and happy land. But till then the battle must be kept up, by The Egyptians, as it is utterly futile if they count upon some other European power to come and release them, If there was any sense of right and wrong left about The Powers; then the Denshawai affair would have never passed; without a strong international protest at least.

So many Egyptian fellahs; perfectly innocent of the charge brought against them; were tortured and killed most barboursly (by The Anglo Egyptian agents) in sight of their homes, and in the presence of their aged parents, young wives, and sweet children. It is essential to remind the reader that Boutros was the creature who pronounced this brutal judgement against his countrymen. He was also the one who signed the treaty of the separation of Soudan from Egypt, & handed it over to The English thieves.

The following faithful description (written by an Egyptian camarade) of the traitor Boutros' behavior; just before he met his nemises at the hand of the Martyr Wardani will be certainly a most interesting record.

BHIKHAIJI RUSTOM CAMA.

What was the real motive of the assassination of Boutros?

AN INCIDENT AT THE GENERAL-ASSEMBLY!

I do not intend here to give a detailed outline of how our Martyre Wardani has shot and killed the traitor Boutros and has given up his youth-ful life heroically and voluntarily for the sake of his own mother-country.

This noble example which was set by Wardani to his compatriots is carefully recorded in history and needless to say is engraved upon all hearts of worthy patriots.

I simply wish now, to relate a very important incident, (which undoubtly was the chief factor that lead up to the happy shooting of Boutros Febr. 20th 1910) as the public have no precise knowledge of it.

During the agitation over the scandalous affair of the Suez-Canal, which is already known to the readers of Banda Mataram. A number of young and zealous Egyptians organized among themselves what they termed 'Gamiat El Mouzaharat" committee of demonstration for the purpose of enlighten public-opinion.

Their cleverly weighed scheme worked like a magic, and soon extended rapidly all over the country, even to the small villages and the whole population began to be a mass of wild enthusiasim for meetings and demonstrations which were held actively every where in Egypt.

Thousands of telegrams poured daily into the offices of the largely circulated nationalist-Papers; all expressing the highest indignation and disgust.

The whole affair came out so spontaneously and systematically that the corrupt Government was utterly helpless, and the Khedive was forced to issue a decree fixing a date for the opening of the General-Assembly and allowing its members to discuss the question of the concession before the conclusion of the wholesale "coup".

This apperent victory of public-opinion over a tyrannical Government. came as stimulus to the minds of the nation; and the propaganda was kept on very lively and persistently.

The central committee of demonstrations with head-quarters at Cairo, was like-wise much inspired by this unexpected victory

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and resolved to hold a solemn and imposing national demonstration on the eve, of the opening of the General-Assembly with view to impress its various members with the seriousness of the question put before them and to transmit to their ears the wish of the whole nation.

Active preparations went on for several days, hundreds of young Egyptian students pledged themselves either to assist or to speak; and people looked anxiously forward to that important event.

Naturally Wardani was to assist also; for he was an ardent member of "Gamiat El Mouzaharat, but by a very strange coincidence and fortunately enough for the cause of Egypt, a friend of Wardani who happened to possess an admission ticket to the Assembly, was unable to go at the very last moment. He consequently accorded it to Wardani which was readily and eagerly accepted.

"WARDANI AT THE GENERAL-ASSEMBLY".

At last the gates of the Assembly were thrown wide open and people flocked from every direction to listen to what may be said on that historical day. I noticed Wardani rushing swiftly by one of the gates as I was entering and scarcely had time to shake hands with him, and to inquire the reason, why he was not present at Geizera-Garden to help and to encourage in the participation of the national demonstration.

In reply to my query, Wardani related to me, how, by mere chance he had secured a ticket of entrance to the Assembly, which he showed me, adding however, that he would do his utmost to attend the other demonstration later in the day. We parted afterwards each taking his own separate seat.

"THE DEMONSTRATION".

While the demonstration of the students and their numerous supporters was enthusiastically taking place at Geizera-Garden outside, the so called delegates of the nation were occupying themselves seriously with discussing the question of the Canal at the magnificent Palace of the General Assembly which ultimately resulted, after a very bitter and tedious opposition of the wretched members of the Government, headed by Prince Hussien and Boutros, in the nomination of a committee to study minutely the question; and to forward its report within a few weeks time to the Assembly to be voted upon.

When this exceedingly interesting step was accomplished, the audience began to show visible signs of approval and great satisfaction. — While the President of the Assembly was about to dismiss the meeting, for he and his accomplice Boutros were greatly disappointed with the result of the proceeding of the day — an influantial member stood up, and in a clear and resolute voice demanded of the late Prince-Minister "whether the report of the "committee and the vote of the General Assembly concerning the "Suez Canal concession will be accepted by the Government as "final and decisive, or would, only be looked upon merely as "advisory according to the regulations of the state!!"

To this fair and ligitimate question Boutros replied in the most arrogant and contemptible of manners by ordering the speaker to "Elsokook" hush up.

The question was repeated twice, but each time Boutros gave the same brutal answer of "Esskot" and his voice became threatning and ugly.

Finally the deputy seemed to have been stunned by the vulgarity of Boutros, took his seat very quietly and without offering any retaliation.

Subsequently, the President of the Assembly at once, pronounced the termination of the sitting, and the audience began to disperse.

In this little incident was undoubtly Boutros's doom settled; for his enemies as well as his friends and supporters were unanimous in condemning his disgraceful and outragious conduct towards an honourable delegate of the nation.

Further by his clumsy manoeuvre Boutros demonstrated beyond any doubt his conspiracy and full culpability.

Seven days afterwards the traitor was justly shot and killed by our Martyre Ibraheem Naseef El Wardani.

When news of the assassination reached us, I was then at the Lewa's office — once the leading organ of the Nationalist Party — situated within a few yards distance from "Sarait El Hakania" Ministry of Justice where the shooting took place.

At 1 P. M. the usual time of going to press we observed several Fellaheen, who evidently were waiting to offer their various petitions; came galloping to the office of the paper carrying with them the happy tiding of the shooting, but could not ascertain the real identity of the hero of the affair.

Two hours later; when the authenticity was declared, I immediately remarked to a number of friends about the occurance of the incident at the General-Assembly and the presence of Wardani on that occasion.

THE CONCLUSION.

My firm believe is that, had Wardani being away on the inauguration day of the General-Assembly, and did not witness before his eyes the unbearable and highly insulting attitude of the late Prince-Minister; in all probabilities, the "bargain" of the Canal would have been easily granted, Prince Hussien would have remained President of the Assembly and the traitor Boutros would have been alive to day.

This conviction was co-operated by an intimate friend of the Martyr who sat close to him on the day of the opening of the Assembly and attentively observed Wardani's great excitement and irritation while Boutros was heaping his abuses upon a respectable member of the General-Assembly who was defending the sacred rights of the Egyptian.

During the trial of Wardani, this vary same and faithful friend, offered himself voluntarily before the Parquet in order to tell his side and impression of the question. But the Prosecuter General, an Egyptian scoundral, did not give much weight to his testimony, for alas! his masters and dictator the English were absolutely determine to rob Egypt of one of her noblest and most devoted and worthy sons.

What shall We do then?

It has been the policy of the British Government to plunder Hindusthan by keeping the people in perpetual slavery and sufferings;

Awful Plight of Inhabitants — In 20 Years 67,500,000 Have Perished of Famine and Disease — Wealth of Country Carried Off by Alien Rulers.

The English press agencies are giving to the world the English view of India. According to this manufactured news the Government of India is on a sound financial basis, and from the reception given to King George and Queen Mary by the office holders and slavish Hindusthanis, it is taken for granted that the people of India are loyal to their foreign rulers while a campatriot of high education, gives his views of English rule as follows:

The plague has taken permanent abode in our country. Last week 42,700 men died of plague in our country. Alas! In seven days, so many men, so many Aryas, have died of this pestilence. Please do not think that it was so during last week only. Our men die of this dreadful disease at the average rate of 40,000 a week. During the last fifteen years our brethren have been dying at the rate of 1,500,000 per annum.

As regards famine it has begun to be a permanent visitor to our country. In our country, a country which was once considered to be a real paradise—there are 8,000,000 people who, not having enough to eat, are permanently hungry. During the forty years from 1860-1900, 30,000,000 people have died of famine. During the ten years from 1890-1900 alone 20,000,000 have died of famine. Crying for bread, their bodies being famished and reduced to skeletons, their beloved children starving and perishing before their eyes and yet being unable to do anything for their dying children, this is how our people have died. Again since 1900 up to now not less than 10,000,000 people have perished of famine.

Malaria has been claiming its victims at the rate of more than 1,500,000 a year during the last ten years and over. All these figures have been taken from the publications of the British officials. So we find that during the past twenty years 67,5000,000 people have died untimely deaths. This is due to plague, famine, and malaria brought about by misrule. Alas! we are only 300 million people. How long will our race live if we are losing at the rate of one-fifth of our total population every twenty years? Very soon the race of Aryas will be exterminated.

All the leading offices of our country, *i. e.*, those of collectors, commissioners, deputy commissioners, leading doctors, engineers, superintendents of police, professors in colleges, judges of the high courts, members of legislative councils, Governors of provinces and those offices which carry any amount of power with them, have been kept by the Englishman in his own hands. He gives some posts to certain selected Hindustanis, just those who are not afraid to sacrifice the interests of their country for the foreign gold. Even

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that is done with the grace of a master throwing bones to his dog. And as salaries to these Englishmen we pay every year, Rs 150,000,000; the money that we earn by hard toil and at the sweat of our brows. As he has all the power in his hands, he has been able to divert the trade from the hands of our brother merchants to the hands of merchants of his own race. He has ruined the shipping trade of our great ports like Surat, Tuticorin, Calicut, etc., beyond recognition, and has placed all such shipping trade in the hands of his own men. When Chidambaram Pillay started the Swedeshi Steam Navigation Company, the Englishman could not bear the sight of a Hindustani beginning to compete successfully with him, and some excuse or other was found to sentence Pillay to six years of hard labor.

All the revenue he collects by driving the people to mortgage their jewels and other valuables, he invests in English banks and not in any banks of Hindustani enterprise. Our people also are foolish enough to deposit their hardearned money in English banks, with the result that they lose crores and crorers or Rupee as they did in the case of Arbuthnat & Co., of Madras. These Englishmen carry away from our country year after year Rs. 600,600,000 as salaries, as profits and as a result of many questionable transactions. If Rs 600,600,000 were carried away year after year, without any return, our country, even though it were El dorado cannot stand the strain. However, can we afford it?

The Hindusthani revolutionists see the vison clearly that the situation can be changed by the overthrow of the British rule and by establishing a system of government which will mean a final death blow to any kind of robbery and exploitation by any class under whatever pretext. This means War. No use of covering up the situation. We must have to face the "British Brute sooner or later and it is only a matter of necessity that we must realise the position and tactics of the enemy. "Looking to the composition of the army we have 70,000 British troops to 120,000 Hindi; proportion of hardly I to 2 while during the twenty years preceeding the year 1857 the proportion of the British to Hindi troop was 1 to 5 and some times much lower.

What does it mean? It means that the British government is perfectly conscious of the fact that it is impossible to keep a nation under subjection unless its tradition, its military strenght and its finance are destroyed. By the Arms Act they have the most effective means to destroy our military talent, efficiency and even inclination. By having the Hindusthani troops armed with inferior weapons and by excluding them from artillery they have made them well nigh ineffective. Then again the number of Hindusthani troops is reduced and that of the British is augmented. You may think that recently the policy of the government has been changed; but that is not the case.

It must be noted that under the "Short Service System" the British government is giving a special advantage to the British soldiers at the cost of our people. By this system within a short period large number of Britishers are brought in Hindusthan to be trained and made familiar with the country, climate and other requirments. It also impoverished us further because we have to pay for transportation, returning charges etc. Mr. Wacha, the secretary of the Indian National Congress which is decidedly the most conservative and pro-British political party in Hindusthan speaks of it in the following way" these military charges are demanded in the *spirit of Shylock* by that masterful and omnipotent organization known as the British War Office".

It must be very carefully considered by all revolunists of Hindusthan that the British Indian Army re-organization scheme of the recent years have introduced many principles by which it would be hard for us to get a common leader in a batallian far from getting one for each regiment. Years back regiments used to be formed of people of the same class i, e. Gurkha Regiment, Sikh Regiment etc. but now people of various localities are introduced in one regiment officered by the Britishers i, e. now a days you will see, in a regiment, companies of Sikhs Gurkhas, Murattas, Pathans Rajputs, and others. This principle is addopted to creat a spirit of disunion among different companies.

The next point we must consider is the „sinews of War" Money. Finance is probably the most important factor of any government. It is more important for the revolutionists than for those who have a standing government. The Young Turks. The Chinese Revolutionists, Persion patriots are all handicapped for finance. It is useless to add that the international money-kings are ready to force a loan to a weak government but persistently close string of their purse if any revolutionary body asks any aid or loan, now we need money for arms and ammunition in proportion to the strengh of the enemy. During the last ten years 1900—1901 to 1909—1910 the British government spent about Rs. 3,000,000,000 three hundred crores of rupees for military expences. Over and above we paid the sum separately for (1) Capitation allowance. (2) deopt charges (3) transport charges, (4) store charges, (5) regimental pay of officers and soldiers and their allowances, (6) furlaugh charges (7) field and ordinance arms andammunition charges (8) miscellaneous, and last though not the least, pensions to retired soldiers and officers The total of all these, it may be mentioned, came in 1908—1909 to Rs. 70,000,000 seven crores of rupees. Now this must not be trifled these rupees from our national income primarily spent to strengthen the British militery position against us. The Britishers know that there is no power on the earth to check the course of a coming revolution so they are fully prepared and so they have made us weaker and weaker every year by their well-laid-out-far-sighted plans. We must consider it a little more carefully. "That (land) revenue according to the latest parliamentary return, stood in 1909—1910 at 20.55 million £ or 30.82 crores rupees exclusive of that derived from forests. On the other hand, the net expenditure on military services, namely the army, marine military works and steed defance works, stood at 19.11 million £ or 28.66 crores rupees ten years ago, the net revenue stood 16.73 millions sterling while the net army charges amounted to 15 47 million £. Accordingly, land revenue has increased during the interval to the extent of 22.8 per cent, against military expenditure which has increased 23.53 cent.

Now the land revenue not being enough to meet the military charges and other instruments of tyranny, the most effective means adopted by the British government to the introduction of the drugs drinks cocaines in Hind. These poisons have been systematically spread among the Panjabees than any other people because the Panjabees are the finest and the bravest amongst the Hindusthanies. I shall just mention a figure which will give some light to the dreadful situation. "Drinking habit is growing fastly in India specially in the Panjab can be shown by the facts that the revenue derived by the Indian government from the sale of intoxicants rose from £ 1,561,000 (RS. 23,415,000) in 1874—1875 to £ 6,342,000 (Rs. 95,130,000) in 1908—1909, the annual yield having been quadrupled in thirty five years".

This question of intemperance is a vital concern to us not because it is degenerating the people, impoverishing the country but it has a military bearing to it. Some people have the conception that heavy drinking is the sign of good soldier or officer but the Russio-Japanise war proved the fact very differently. You cannot depend upon drunkards and moral-wrecks; drunkards will invariably be debauches. The night when the Japanise struck blow to the Russian ships what was the condition of Russians? The batch of drunkards of Russian Officers were engaged in brutish enjoyment with Japanise Gasya girls at the port and the ships without proper officers lost the battle.

These are few of the problems against our revolutionary victory. Let us be serious and answer the question "what shall we do then".

First of all we should not and cannot get any military aid from outside. In case any power offers it we must refuse to accept it with thanks for two reasons: (l) If we cannot be free without outside help we will be slaves again in no time. (2) We must not ignore the teachings of the great political philosophy that "a prince should not ask for an alliance to any stronger power than himself because the stronger will take advantage of him," or "a prince should not use mercenaries because they after defeating the enimy may dethrone him".

Niether can we depend only on the Hindusthany princes nor the Hindusthany soldiers under the British because they are not yet stirred up with spirit of Liberty. They are not suffering so much misery. They are yet friends of fortune so we must have "Citizan soldiers" in disguise. We must have our own trained officers among Revolutionists. We must have sufficient "War Funds" for ammuniations etc. We must have the inception of the Revolutionary government in detail in different parts of the country if possible in every village, so that just as soon as simultanious outbreak will spread all over the country there will not be any anarchy. What are we doing for these?

Let us not forget that as the things stand to-day the Britishers are straining their last resource. Let us be conscious of the fact that it will require at least some superior strength on our part to dislodge them from secure position. We are at War now. Loss of a minute and use of time without proper advantage will be cause of our defeat.

NOTES.

CANVASSINE FOR LOYALTY CROWDS.

We recently read in a well-informed paper that in all the functions

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connected with the King of England's sojourn in India, the public were conspicuous by their absence. As is well known, the Durbar held at Delhi, was nothing but a show of sepoys and soldiers. The nearest enclosure to which the public were, allowed was nearly more than half a mile from the Durbar Pavilion. After all were there many people? No! They were only a very few There were there who had come there out of curiosity or out of sheer fun. The people in general were sullen and moody and exhibited no sign of loyalty. It is affirmed on all hands that there was no applause, no cheeriny for the "Emperor of India".

Another fact which we have come across in another paper is more interesting. It will give enough material for our young men to laugh if not to joke perpetually. It seems that when the Queen of England alighted in one of the stations in Northern India, there were no people to cheer or applaud. Therefore the officers in authority had to order out a whole regiment of sepoys to crowd the streets and they approached to the Railway station dressed as ordinary citizens! The Deputy-commissioner of the district or whoever he might be could not allow the "Queen-Empress" to get shocked at the non exhibition of loyalty on the part of the people and he had therefore to go actually round to Canvass for loyalty crowds. We can also believe and that easily, the rumour that many people were ordered to go out and greet the "Queen-Empress" under pain of penalty and the displeasure of the official clique. That things should have come to such a state we do not wonder because our young men have begun to feel the overpowering hatred of the foreign rule and have begun to think that they have had enough of it and that it must be put a stop to. We shall wait for the day when that shall be done, but meanwhile we shall strenuously carry on our campaign of freedom from British yoke.

A Hindusthani correspondant writes.

"Some thousands of young men were sent to prison without any cause or complaint in Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, and all along the route of George's triomphal march. In the south where he did not dare to go, even there many young men were arrested and kept in custody. The Hindi Kings on occasions of rejoicings would release prisoners; while The British Rule has imprisoned nearly three thousand men.

The procession through the city of Bombay.

It was truly wonderful. All the streets (pavements included) were cleared of men, and the people were made to stand in the cross roads at a distance of half a furlong from the main route. The procession, a baggerly knot of three carriages preceded and followed and flanked by whole battalions of soldiers — passed literally through an empty city, in a grave like silence.

The Durbar camp itself was no better; and for miles around all approaches to the camp were guarded by armed sergents; and a passport was required to enter the camp. In short the Tsar of Russia, the twin brother of George of England would have shown much less fear in his visit to the most revolutionary part of his dominions.

The princes' loyalty.

It was also forced upon them.

The Nijam's feelings were trampled down.

His father died in the month of August 1911, and the bereaved son was asked to come over to the Durbar, and to announce his presence by the first obsequious bow. All ideas of decency, and respect for the dead, & dignity of his Kingdom; everything was set aside; and barely before six weeks had passed since the death of the late Nijam the vikase went forth that the son was to be crowned with pompous ceremony.

There was hardly time for the unfortunate prince to dry his tears when the Viceroy hurried over to Haidrabad; to campell him with the threat of severe displeasure to be present at the Durbar. Even in a poor household, there is mourning of 6 months at least and did not George himself observe mourning for his father?

The Maharana Udayapur is dishonoured most mercilessly in sight of his 200.000.000 Hindu compatriots.

He the descendent of Pratap and Bappa Raual and Shri Ram refused to attend the Durbar of an ally in the quality of a tributory chief, and he mentioned that the conditions which he was able to extract from the English appeared to him not honourable. But, there came the ultimatum, at once "Either he was to receive whatever rank it was the pleasure of The Viceroy to allot him; or he was to abdicate his throne", and thus the Rajput's honour was sold for a mock throne, and he was dragged like a prisoner to Delhi. He was ordered that he was not to take any part in any function, and to lower him still more he was announced as the prince in waiting, and was insulted by Getting the title of G. C. S. I. in such illustrious company as that of Nanab of Dacca and his likes. Unhappy man, if he had taken his chance, and raised the banner of Hindusthan in name of Shri Ram his ancester; and called the country to arms, what a glorious death he would have met with; even a suicide in a quiet way would have been preferable, than to live with a burning shame of such degradation".

The following from Gaelic American are worth reading.

From Bombay we learn that at the last moment the route of King George's progress through that city had to be changed owing to the discovery that bomb-throwers were among the spectators along the originally intended line of the parade. Two men acting suspiciously were arrested with bombs on them, but the authorities, not wishing to create uneasiness, dispensed with a public trial and the men are reported to have been sent into perpetual exile, it is believed, in the Andaman Islands. The Indian and British press were requested to keep silent on the subject, but the news has got out by mail, and is now known in England, where there is much anxiety that the King should leave India as soon as possible.

Gaelic American, 6th. January 1912.

Echoes of the Indian Durbar.

Each week fresh news of what happened during the visit of England's King to India to proclaim himself emperor of that country, comes to THE GAELIC AMERICAN. The latest is of special importance seeing that not even a hint of it appeared in any of the reports published in this country. We refer to the attempt on King George's life, which only missed success by a hair's breadth. Concerning this particular incident we give the following letter received by the last mail:

Among the many incidents which swell the evidence against the baseless lies invented by the enemy to delude Europe that George had a gorgeously entertaining time in India, I send a piece of information which bears out the contention that both he and his exhibitors had many sleepless nights and passed a most anxious time. On the day of the State entry a Nationalist named Kidar Nath was arrested with a revolver and a dagger in his possession. He was caught just before his intended attempt to purge this earth of the dirty existence of the tyrant who, throughout his stay in India, dared only to skulk with a thousand fears crowding on his brain every moment of his existence on the land he desecrated by his presence.

Further and most interesting information has also been received about the Nizam and Gaekwar incidents on the day when the self-proclaimed emperor and empress sat in state to receive the "homage" of the ruling princes. It appears that before going to the appointed spot where they were to do obeisance to the foreign royalties the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Gaekwar of Baroda ostentatiously divested themselves of their decorations and jewelled ornaments in view of the assemblage, and, taking each an ordinary walking stick from an attendant, proceeded to pay their homage by giving a familiar bob of the head to their suzerain. They then returned to where they had left their regalia, which they resumed as ostentatiously as they had divested themselves of them, and went off the scene. Since the return of King George to England it has been proposed to reduce the number of guns in the Gaekwar's salute, as he was credited with being the instigator of the action of himself and the Nizam, but it is probable the affair will be passed over in silence, as the British Government has enough trouble without playing into the hands of the bullies and bounders who prey on and tyrannize over the people of India.

Another incident was the refusal of the Maharana of Udaipore to attend, and only went to the Durbar at the last moment under threat of severe displeasure. There he was appointed as a Chief in attendance on the emperor, which exempted him from the ceremony of doing homage, but conferred on him neither the rank of an honorary aide-de-camp nor recognized him a ruling chief.

Altogether the royal visit to India was full of incidents of an untoward nature that detracted seriously from the dignity of the occasion, and considerably diminished the prestige of India's British rulers. The effects are bound to be felt later on when circumstances develop as a consequence of the visit.

Gaelic American.

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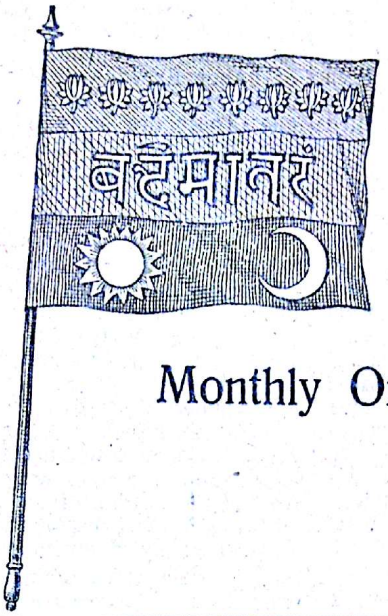
THE Bande Mataram



Monthly Organ of Indian Independence.

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.
(Gautama Buddha).

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All communications should be addressed to Madame CAMA, 25, Rue de Ponthieu, Champs Elysées, Paris (France).

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The following creed of Indian nationality was composed by Db. Shiv Narain, of the Panjab, who received for it the Vive-Ananda? Gold medal offered by the *Indian World*. We reprint it here for the benefit of those of our readers who have not already seen it. We hope that every word of this creed will appeal to all that is best in them, and make them gird up their loins for the sacred fight.

1. I believe in India, one and indivisible.
2. I believe in India, beloved mother of each and all her many million children.
3. I believe in India's divine mission.
4. I believe in the saints of her birth and the heroes of her breeding.
5. I believe in India the invincible, whom the world's loftiest and holiest mountains defend.
6. I believe in the invigorating power of the ocean, on whose lap lies my mother secure.
7. I believe in India, the beautiful; — Nature's own paradise of loveliest flowers and streams.
8. I believe in the sanctity of her every particle.
9. I believe in India's departed sons, whose ashes are mingled in the air. earth, and water, that give me my food, and form my very blood.
10. I am bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh.
11. I believe in the abiding relationship of Indians of all times and all communities.
12. I believe in the brotherhood of all who belong to India's soil, be they whatever caste or creed.
13. I believe in the living Indian nation, dearer to her children than aught elze of earthly kinship.
14. I believe in its golden past and glorious future.
15. I believe in the righteousness, valour and patriotism of Indian manhood.
16. I believe in the tenderness, chastity and selflessness of Indian womanhood.
17. I believe in India for the Indian people to live for and to die for.
18. I believe in one land, one nation, one ideal and one cause.
19. The service of my country is the breath of my life, — the be-all and end-all of my existence.
20. So help me Bharata!

Bande Mataram.

The Great Durbar in India.

BY A PROGRESSIVE HINDU WOMAN.

The great Coronation Durbar in India is past and will be recalled only as a news item to many in this country. But on the people of India its effect will be lasting.

The people of India have paid heavily for the coronation festivities and pompous shows and they should get something in return. The laws of cause and effect are stern and show no special favors. They declare in the words of the great sage, "Who sows must reap, and cause must bring the sure effect; good, good, bad, bad, and none escape the law."

It has cost the British Indian government $5,000,000, and taking all other expenses of the native princes and common people the grand total has certainly reached the enviable amount of $10,000,000.

It was all for show, grandeur and a declaration of imperial dignity.

Let us not forget that every cent spent during the occasion by all the celebrities came from the producers of India, most of whom belong to the farming class. To commemorate the Coronation Durbar of George V and Queen Mary the British government was lavish in distributing titles among native dignitaries, British civil and military officials, and some of the Hindu writers and educators were bedecked with titles which are like the jingle of bells, without special significance. These are all great favors from their imperial majesties, George V and Mary; and no doubt the recipients of these favours are feverishly happy over the great things done during the great Durbar.

But let us see what favours have been accorded to those whose pennies were stolen to make this great monky show. Are they better off than they were? Was anything done of benefit to the mass of people of India during this occasion?

By the unjust expense of $ 10,000,000 the starving, ignorant mass of India people were made weaker. Here are some items of havoc that were being wrought on the very eve of the coronation: "Mortality from plague in India during the week ending October was 11,237 seizures and 8,467 deaths. There were 4,752 deaths in Bombay Presidency, 638 in Madras. 64 in Bengal, 247 in the United Provinces, 42 in the Punjab, 97 in Burma, and 387 in Central India."

Is this something new for the fate of India? For the last fifteen years under the most successful British rule this disease of the plague which has been declared by all competent medical authorities

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as a preventable disease, caused by want of proper food and sanitation, has led several millions to premature death. Let us note what the National Review of London, April, 1911, has to say about it:

"History still recalls with solemnity the great plague of London in 1665, yet it only caused 68.596 deaths. What are these when compared with the tragedy of India's millions? Lord Morley expressed the thoughts in the minds of many men when he wrote to the government of India in 1907, 'the facts that the plague has been fatally active in India over eleven years, that the number of victims exceeds five and a quarter millions, that its virulence is unabated and its progress is uncontrolled necessarily give rise to doubt as to whether everything that can be done by the responsible authorities has been done and whether the last word of medical science and administrative skill has been said."

Under the above existing conditions of India 10,000,000 of the people's money was spent for show.

Were the people well fed in India when this show of robbery was in process of moving and trumpeting? The newspapers from India brought news of the famine before George and Mary set their feet on India's soil. Following is a report from Bombay, Nov. 7, 1911: "The strain is beginning to be severe in Ahmedabad, Kaira, Panch Mahals and Guzerat districts. Cattle are dying in large numbers and ten thousand people are already working on relief in Panch Mahals. Crimes are also increasing."

This is but a reminder of the woeful tale since the foreign exploitation began in India. Can you imagine the scene in the interior of India? In the villages millions starving, and in Delhi, the ancient capital city, the great Coronation Durbar going on, and $ 10,000,000 spent on this show?

It is too much to compare it with Nero fiddling his life in joy when Rome was burning or is it less significant than the mad devildance of gorgeous exploiters protected by guns, soldiers, forts and navies, on the corpse of the exploited? My imagination cannot give a more vivid picture of ruthless butchery under the garb of civilization. The British government records show that 30,000,000 of our people died of famine during the last forty years in India.

The people of India, though naturally intelligent, are the most unenlightened today. Only about ten per cent of them can read and write and to our horror and shame, only about one woman in two thousand can read or write in their own language. Ignorance is the root of all evil, but without spending a cent for the primary education of the people the rulers waste $ 10,000,000 in a monstrous show of themselves. Do the exploiters who assume the air of peacemakers, preservers of good government. ever dream that this very unjust expense has taken at least two meals from millions who are suffering from the eternal pangs of hunger?

Had I the spending of this amount of money I would invest it in educating the people of India along rational lines, as Ferrar, the late martyr, hoped to do in Spain. Let us see what could be done: At a very moderate rate, we would have a large annual income from $ 10,000,000. In India we can get teachers for primary schools at $ 5 a month. We could start 25.000. schools for the children of the working class. This means an education to about 1,000,000 children. We could have our own press, our own text-books, our own universities in the course of time. And once the people were educated properly, they would no longer submit to any wrong.

Every year the British are taking away at least $ 100.000.000, and the rich, fat, so-called nobles and princes are living upon the products of the poor in India. The people are becoming weaker every day. The fear of the sword and the pressure of hunger are taking life and self-respect out of them.

Are there none among the ranks of The Progressive Woman to take up this fight, which is also a part of their fight?

The Progressive Woman, Chicago, March 1912.

What shall we do then?

We tried to prove that to bring about our Revolution to a successful end (1); We must not depand upon outside help (2). We must have citizan soldiers for the cause (3). We must have trained officiers (4). We must have Revolutionary war fund and above all (5). We must have organization even in the remotest part of the country.

Since the time of Alexander Europe tried to conquer Asia but it has not been completed. We may get individual help for our cause as the Boers did but it will be foolish to expect any help from outside nations. To emphasise this point we shall say that not a word of protest has been uttered from any part of the organised powers of the world against the works of out-laws done by the British and Russian governments in Persia.

England and Russia are insisting, practically threatening Turkey to come to terms with Italy and give up her rightful claims over Tripoli. It is even hard for Turkey to get a loan from any of the European powers. Egypt has been declared a part of the British Empire. In China to-day the Revolutionists are facing the most outrageous British and Russian political policies: — The British have sent an expedition to the Chinese frontier under the pretext of "Abor Expedition" and the Russians are busy to establish a protectrate over the province of Mongolia. Other powers are not idle. These are some of the present days'manifastations of the established fact of "The European Concert in the Eastern Question" (Vide "The European Concert in the Eastern Question;' by T. E. Holland. *So we must recognize that a true revolution must proceed from the oppressed class and not from outside.*

It is not at all difficult to complete our programme if we work for it. But it is doubtless that we will face many oppositions, of course the British will fight tooth-and-nail to keep possession of our holy mothercountry but they are not our worst foes. Mazzini has pointed out that in all revolutions the forerunners are always few; next to the forerunners of the revolutionary work there is a class of people who are known as sympathisers, active and passive-the number of passive sympathisers are always larger than those who have the courage to be active but the passive sympathisers become active with successful progress of revolution; then there is a class of people who are indifferent to either side and lastly we find the handful of scum of the society-the traitors the despised lot of cowards. These traitors are and has been in all ages the bitterest enemy of revolutions.

Traitors are those who avowedly side the enemy's cause and of them the most debased and despicable creatures are those who act like serpent in the grass. And in our country we are up against the traitors of both classes. Their activities are not restricted in India they are working against us in all lands. And the most dangerous work they are engaged in is poluting the public sympathy to our cause and also to hypnotise our people with the devilish song of praises to the British Rule and our inability to Self-government. These wretches and devils pase to be patriots and friends of Hind. To demonstrate our position we shall give only two recent examples of actions of traitors under the guise of friends: — Sant Lyal Singh who changes his creed and sells his conscience to sell his articles, has contributed an article "What the British have done for India" in January (1912) number of the American Review of Reviews and in the concluding paragraph he says: — "Consequently India in 1911 is not only in every respect incompareably better than it was when the British entered it as traders, or when their sovereigns took hold of the government, but it actually is on the high road progress, making giant strides, despite the facts that the inertia of centuries and wrangling and warring races and creeds flag its energies, etc."

Mrs. Annie Besant is not asleep in the time of immense activity of the revolutionists. She throws cold-water to our work. In her characteristic and prophetic manner as if she has been informed by the Mahatmas or Mystic Spirits of astral plain all about the gloomy feature of India. She writes in Christian Common wealth, London, to the effect that the Hindu revolutionists are all anarchists and "it will take centuries before the Indian pasentry have grown to civic manhood." What are these nonsensical talks for? Only to hypnotize the people of Hind and to misrepresent the real condition. Who ever has taken pains of reading about ancient India knows well that our people didnot lack civic manhood even in early days-Compare the condition of the Indian village communities and ancient republics and you will understand the superiority of our system. It is mere waste of time and space to contradict the statements of Sant Lyal Singh. But we must not forget to recognize them as dangerous foes of Indian nationalism and we should punish them. As their work is limited in corrupting public mind we must create such an atmosphere that they will be socially boycotted, they will be hooted out by the young and old and be not recognized as individuals of position and dignity. Gag them and kill them socially and economically and this will serve examples for others.

But for those who are avowed traitors and are acting as spies as Ram Sadya, Purna Lahiri and others we must be merciless. Uneducated people serving the British can be excused for their ignorance, but these learned fools and accomplished tools of tyrants must have examplary punishment. Lo that Ram Sadya who is the cause of arrest of Barin, Hem and others has been given a Jaigir producing an annual income of Rs. 2000 for his faithful service to the British Government.

Now if these traitors are allowed to live peaceful life of prosperity we violate the injuctions of Dhurma as described by the sage Bashista:" The people should inflict even death penelty to the un-

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grateful; "and undoubtedly those who are working against the emancipation of their own country are the meanest of the living beings. If we don't punish them it will demoralise the whole country and many young people will fall in the temptation of having an easy life betraying the cause of the country.

We must punish them to tearrify their companions; and to establish the suprimacy we must blot-out their existance to commence that the life of a traitor is not safe in Hind. Traitors are cowards and they can only be checked by inspiring fear of life liberty and prosperity-they have no moral sense, they are brutes and devils by nature and the Sanskrit proverb says." The wicked will not care for your sermons." So their gang should be exterminited.

Without their help our enemy the British government is helpless. If we are not to cope with traitors we can finish our work easy. Think of it that there are not even two hundred thousands Britishers in India who can carry arms against us and they mostly live in big cities and we are over three hunderd millions of which 90 percent live in villages. Our countrymen are acting for their agents. Let the Hindu revolutionaries blot out the traitors and have a secret service department of their own to watch the doings of the enemy. Once the revolutionists have made the progress in punishing the traitors it will be very easy work to organise citizen-soldier-brigade, raise revolutionary war-fund and revolutionary government in all parts of the country.

One day's action will educate people more effectively than six month preaching. Punishing the traitors will create a moral consciousness and clear away the feeling of dullness and passivity. We must not forget that whatever progress has been made in Indian Revolution it is done by following the teachings of Dharma." Fight for the righteous cause and punish the upholders of unrighteousness and tyranny". So we again must emphasise that our hope lies with the awakening of the mass people. We must have arms. We must have citizen-soldiers. We must have well trained-officers. We must have revolutionary war fund, we must have our revolutionary government, and above all our secret service department to clear away all the obstacles from our way. The success of the work will depend upon sincerity and secrecy.

Maro Feringhiko.

Whilst on a railway trip, an unbiassed officer of the English army averred: "Our presence is, of course, no longer needed in India and we ought, for gratitude's sake, to abjure the realm and thus avoid a second mutiny. If the Indians rise, even unarmed, their success is insured." Now, Hindu brothers and sisters! Will you, after digesting the above Feringhi-made remark, continue to grovel in the same slavery. If you will, please say for how long? Even the enemy avows that, in spite of our being disarmed, our success is certain, if we rise.

Does not your common sénse prompt you that Bramhavarta is deteriorating day-by-day? Do you not blush with shame to accept the Mleccha George as your King? Is not your heart moved and do you not burst into tears whenever you hear a savage race speak of mother India as "the brightest jewel in the British crown"? Countrymen! Wake up! Rub the sleep off your eyelids. Be no more lethargic; just imagine how disgraceful it is to see 300.000.000 people cowed down and treated with contempt, scorn, and indifference by a mere handful of an alien race.

Deshbandhus! By hook or by crook drive out the ill-looking enemies of the human race. Your mother is being devoured by the greedy dogs even in your presence. How long will the holy land of Almighty Rama serve as a dumping ground for the English wretches.

Hindu brothers! Avenge Shahid Mangal Panday! Avenge Kumar Singh! Avenge Nana Sahib, Tatia Tope and others.

Moslem brothers! Avenge Emperor Bahadur Shah.

Avenge Moulvie Almed Shah! Avenge Feroze Shah Azimullah Han and others.

Hindu sisters! Avenge Ranee Lakshmi Bai, the Charlotte Corday of Mother Ind, and her follower Mandara!

Rise for Swadharma and expel the freebooters from the core of Bharatmata! Let your first thought be: "that to die for Swaraj is the key to the gates of Heaven."

Hindus and Mahomedans! let our watchword be: "Destroy every Britisch extant on the Elysium-like Hindusthan."

A REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST.

To preserve Honour of our Mothers, Daughters and Sisters.

Mrs. Joshephine Konger-Koneko in an article "Facts of the Social Evil" in the progressive women of Chicago (Feb. 1912) has given some facts about the outragious methods of the Tomy Atkins in India. She says "as a result of the experience of an English Lady of title, there approved in India the chakla or military brothel. Lord Roberts, it is said has the distinction of originating this essencial feature of military regime. In these cantonment chacklas are placed twelve or fifteen native girls (there are usually a thousand English soldiers in a cantonment or military baracks) who are stolen, bought or otherwise forcibly gotten or held, and they, according to popular opinion, save the honour and lives of the more favoured wives and daughters of the whites in India."

This is a fact. Does it require any comment on it? Are we men if we do not wake up to remedy this shameful situation. Have we any sense of honour if we are not preparing to drive away the Britishers who has brought about this humiliating condition in our mother country.!!!

There is a Latin phrase „Si Vis pacem, para bellum" (If you wish peace, be ready for war) referring to which I am tempted to appeal to the conscience of my countrymen irrespective of our religious differences that it is just and appropritate to our cause. A man has to be strong enough to command the respect of others. The modern theory of christianising the whole world and keeping in subjugation the weaker nations has been the aim of all the powers of Europe. There is no place on earth where Christians are not trying to establish their government either through treachery or by force and degenerating peoples older traditions and older civilisations. Sons of Hindustan, what in the world has kept you in lethargy and from throwing off the treacherous and foreign yoke. The mleachchas are devastating our country and leaving the people in abject poverty to die like flies in preodical famines and diseases. Can you not see that in the garb of civilization the most henious crimes are committed and yet have you no nerve to protect your own home, the land of your birth and that of your anscestors. Let each Englishman pay the price and you better die as heroes than to succumb in starvation; establishing Unity and Freedom forever and thereby to have a place amongst the nations of the World rather than to be a foreigner in your own home. Isnt it a shame not to have been able to maintain our own rights, to have the equal share and voice in the management of our own affair, to regulate our law, to fill the positions exclusively of Indians and above all to be a free man. So long you remain humiliated you shall be ever so and there will be no hope of rising. Let the young India set an example for the coming generation to follow the foot steps of our martyrs Dhingri, Savarkar, Tilak, Basu, and several others.

For the last few years there have been contributions by some of the English agents in this country in all the magazines in succession condemning us as an-uncivilized race poisioning the American public with false statements, exposing Gawekwar and other Royal families of India, our women are abused in dalies, religion defied. Is there no remedy, are the people dead? Japan has become the civilized nation and the Mistress of the Pacific by her might and a every-day talk in the western world in schools and colleges preodicals and dalies clubs and societies. China through her persistant zeal has been able to estabish the republican Govt. and Oh India why you are sleeping.

The best method of National Govt to be adapted is to establish Republic. The emancipation of India lies entirely with our nobilities to unite and to cooperate with each other to scope with modern civilization. There should be one court. language which could be chosen later for the convenience of people at large. Devanagri may be considered as that of old English alphabet and anything that suits the eye and easier to comprehend should be taken. As the world progresses the adaptation of laws should be mended and sim plified. The old practices ideas have been good at that time when they were made but not now. At the present era we have to modernize and mitigate everything possible to scope with different other nations at the same footing as Japan has keeping judiciously our ancient prestiege. In this country as well as in European countries everything has been interchanged-inventions, discoveries, social, religious et political reforms almost every month to bring into perfection and why should not these people flourish to keep up with the standerd? They have religious and other differences to the extent we have but they join hands when up against a common cause forgetting all past differences. This is the kind of spirit we are lacking. Let each man take a vow to refuse absolutely to serve a mlecha for a month and you will see a marvellous result and the whole problem is solved and the country is ours. There must be division of labor and let each man take his share to perform the function of the sacred duty to the Motherland. If you cant do anything for your Home but for all in the Heaven dont be a traitor and there by ruining others who have been devoting all he had and above all his life to put into effect. Appeal to your conscience and donot keep your country humiliated. Yonder

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Spain and Arabia are trying to establish Republican Govt. and on the verge of it: Germany and Japan may have the same in the near future according to the current news. The unrest is going on all over the world. Look how Portugal and China have already established their new Republic.

The caste system in India can only be done away with when we can control the administration of the country to shape its future development. It can only be done away with without hurting the people by compulsory military training as that of France or Germany. The division which is existing today between Hindus and Mohamedans is a check to the growth of the country along the national line and mostly the inferior castes are neglected who either become Christians or Mahomedans to have little better society. The hatredness of a inferior draws a line of demarcation who considers as a foreigner and thereby loose all interest in the welfare of his motherland and finally turns out a traitor. All schools and colleges of India should have a national uniform to sow the seeds of patriotism which will carry greater weight. Our girls and ladies should make sacrifice to turn out men to die on the battle field who would be prepared to make a wholesale massacre of British as well as traitors of our motherland. May God give us the strength to burst all at once and wave the flag of "Freedom" forever.

I am, as ever, for *Bande Mataram*,

Very truly yours,
X. Y. Z.

United States of America,
1st February 1912.

The Chinamen of The Future.

Hindoosthani Nationalists can take a leaf from The Chinese with profit as regards the education of our children. —

"An Englishman who has been teaching in China for 25 years reports that the advanced modern spirit permeates even to the schools.

There is hardly a schoolboy at Cheng-tu, for instance, who is not acquainted with the outlines of the history of the French Revolution; and they have all followed the progress of National ideals in Turkey, Persia, India and Egypt. A patriotic British teacher at Cheng-tu we are told says the University Correspondent was pointing out with pride to his geography class, the many red-coloured possessions of Great Britain, when he was stopped by shouts of "*You Stole them*" from his class.

In the propaganda of the revolutionary party too, a poster depicting the swallowing of Egypt by Great Britain has played a prominent part!" *The Globe.*

Now Hindusthanis! You See the result in reading The Magna Charta of The Chinese Nation in the following telegrams of Reuter.

BANDA MATARAM.

YUAN'S FIRST ACTION AS PRESIDENT.

PEKING, Feb. 13.

In a Manifesto issued to-day—the Manifesto has now replaced the Imperial Edict as the vehicle for admistrative announcements—Yuan Shih Kai assumes the title of "fully empowered organizer of the Republic," and politely commands the civil officials, the army, and the police to continue their duties and to maintain order.

The Chinese Press this morning prints in red ink the three Edicts published yesterday. The papers generally characterise the way in which the Republic has been set up as "a wonderful achievement," commenting especially on the speed with which the change has been accomplished, and the small loss of life with which it has been accompanied—Reuter.

NANKING, Feb. 12.

The Constitution proposed by the Republicans consists of seventy articles, and follows the American model except that the President and Vice-President are to be elected by Congress, and also the Premier, who shall select his Cabinet subject to the approval of Congress. It makes provision for religious freedom and the establishment of conscription.

The Nanking Government claims that the act of abdication leaves them de facto the administrators of China, and states that if Yuan Shi-kai accepts the Constitution he may be elected President.

IBID.

Sovereignty vested in the people.

PEKING, Feb. 12.

Three Edicts are issued to-day.

In the first the Throne agrees to the establishment of a Republic. The second Edict accepts the conditions agreed upon between Yuan Shih-Kai and the Republicans, and the third informs the Viceroys and Governors of Provinces that the Throne retires from political power in order to meet the people's wishes, and instructs the provincial chiefs to keep the people quiet.

The following is the text of the first Edict issued to-day by the Throne:

"We, the Emperor, have respectfully received the following Edict from her Majesty the Dowager.

"In consequence of the uprising of the Republican Army, to which the people in the Provinces have responded, the Empire seethed like a boiling cauldron, and the people were plunged in misery. Yuan Shih-Kai, therefore, commanded the dispatch of Commissioners to confer with the Republicans with a view to a National Assembly deciding the form of government. Months eclapsed without any settlement being reached. It is now evident that the majority of the people favour a Republic, and from the preference of the people's hearts the will of Heaven is discernible. How could we oppose the desires of millions for the glory of one family?

"Therefore, the Dowager-Empress and the Emperor hereby vest the sovereignty in the people. Let Yuan Shih-Kai organise with full powers a provisional Republican Government, and let him confer with the Republicans on the methods of establishing a union which shall assure the peace of the Empire, and of forming a great Republic uniting Manchus, Chinese, Mongols, Mahommedans, and Tibetans."

The second Edict is as follows:

"According to the Cabinet's memorial, embodying the articles of courteous treatment proposed by the people's army, they undertake the responsibility of perpetual sacrifices before the Imperial and ancestral temples and mausolea, and also the completion of the mausoleum of the late Emperor Kuang-Hsu."

The Emperor, it is understood, resigns only his political power, while the Imperial title shall not be abolished.

„The Imperial kinsmen, the Manchus, the Mongols, the Mahammedans, and the Tibetans will endeavour to fuse with the Chinese, and to remove all racical differences and prejudices. It is our sincere hope that peace may be restored, and happiness enjoyed under the Republic."

The third Edict says: "The Throne's motive in modelling its policy according to the progress of the times and the earnest desires of the people and its sole object are the suppression of the great disorder in China and the restoration of peace. Should the warfare continue, the country might be irreparably ruined by the sufferings that are the horrible consequences of racical war."

Although the details have not yet been definitely settled, the conditions governing the future of the Throne and the Court will probably provide an annual grant of four million taels for the Emperor, the retention of the present Palace personnel, and the provisional continuance of the Manchu bounties. The Court will eventually make the Summer Palace its place of residence.—Reuter Special.

Thoght for the Month.

"There are one or two useful hints to be barned from this old and oft-repeated story of the fall of the Bastille. The first is of the eminent utility of popular "force" if only applied at the right moment. Beforehand, it would have seemed preposterons that an "undisciplined mob" could take a fortress and paralyse the efforts of a reaction possessed of a trained army. Yet so it was.

Another point to note is the untrust worthiness of men who belong to the class which makes the revolution, and who even profess to represent it, when their personal interest and position are bound up with the maintenance of the existing order. Flessettes, an official of the third estate, its leading dignitary in the city of Paris, was yet the man who was the least anxious to see the fendal hierarchy overthrown. And why? Because he played a part in it. The "third estate" had been incorporated into the mediaeval system. He was its representative as one of the fendal orders. Its position was subordinate indeed, but, now that it was growing in importance its leading men had much more to gain by clinging to the skirts of the *noblesse*, and aiding them in frustrating that complete revolution which the rank and file of the class were seeking, than in assisting the accomplishment of this revolution, which could only mean the effacement of their own personal position."

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION,
by Belfort Bax.

Notice.

I request all Hindi students and friends who may be leaving for Hindoostan; kindly to drop me a postcard, to stop The Bande Mataram from going to their present foreign addresses.

Bhikhaiji Rustom Cama,
25, Rue de Ponthieu, Champs Elysées, Paris.

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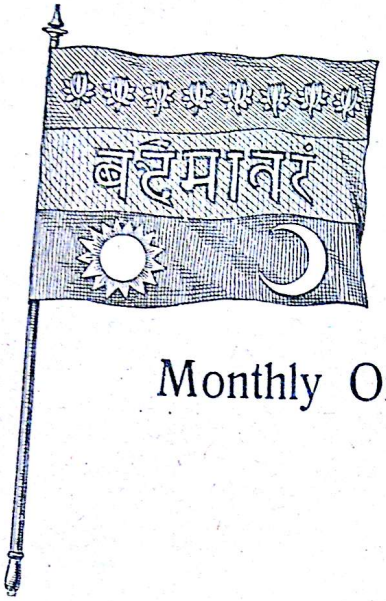
THE Bande Mataram



Monthly Organ of Indian Independence.

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.
(Gautama Buddha).

Vol. III. GENEVA, April 1912. No. 8.

All communications should be addressed to Madame CAMA, 25, Rue de Ponthieu, Champs Elysées, Paris (France).

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Long Live China.

THE 1st REPUBLIC OF ASIA.

It has been planted in the early spring, and may it take strong and healthy root; and may it inspire all other Asiatic countries to follow suite is the prayer of Bandé Mataram. Chinese brothers and sisters, we salute you, dignified representatives of a great and valiant race. We cannot follow you yet, as the iron hand keeps us in chain and blood; but we know that our oppertunity is not very far now.

Chinese nation, you have proved true to your great traditions; and you are the 1st amongst The Orientals to establish a republic; as you were the pioneers of progress in the old days by your industry and science; while Egypt, Persia and Hindoosthan were excelling in Arts, Poetry and philosophy.

It was the ingenuity of you Chinamen that has given the world the compas, printing, porcelaine, and the most precious of all inventions the gunpowder (which we hope you will always keep dry) as the Oriental world requires men of bombe as much as men of philosophy, poetry and arts!

You were naturally proud of your laurels; and then your great emperors built the giagentic wall; and you lived an isolated life behind it. Perhaps your decline was watching you; but fortunately you are awakened, and today the whole world with one voice is honouring your Sun-Yat-Sen; and is applauding with enthusiasm your successful revolution! What marvellous energy you have displayed; and what enormous work you must have imposed upon yourselves.

Ye winds! that is sweeping the immense plains of Mongolia, and which is rising up to the height of Thibet; and which agitates the waves of the oceans; you carry on this joyful tidings of this glorious event to the remotest corner of the world, and gladen the hearts of all liberty loving people.

The Occidental powers are getting anxious and uneasy at this Oriental progress; as they have forgotten all about our glorious past! They will come to their senses very soon; while you Chinese nation! Be the leader and the liberator ot Asiatics! Join hands with them; and moralise the world fallen so low! Unite their forces and let us march towards that ideal; which is so much desired in the resurrection of The Orientals.

Ye! Great and valiant race; your blanying and great aurore is lightened afresh.

May it spread its light all over the world and may it never perished!

The following telegram was dispatched by The Hindoosthani Nationalists in Europe to Pekin and Nankin to Mr. YOUAN CHIKAI and Dr. SUN YAT SEN respectively:

"Hindoosthanis rejoice establishment of Chinese Republic; and hope the new Government will work up The Asiatic Unity."

BANDE MATARAM.

He who wants to be free, must break the chain.

A very unique and interesting gathering took place in Paris on the 10th March 1912 at The Sociétés des Savantes Hall (8 Rue d'Anton) to honour and congratulate The Chinese Republican Committee. The most encouraging and distinguished feature of this Soirée was that it was organised solely by The Orientals; and was purely on oriental lines. There were representatives of all the different nationalities of Asia and Africa, such as The Hindoosthanis, Egyptians, Persians, Algerians, Caucasians, Arminians; Turks, Japanese, Chineses and even men from Syria & Arabia. A wholesome feeling of fraternity prevailed; and the whole assembly was so much like one mass of radiant joy; that the few Occidental friends said (they were there as invited guest of The Orientals). "It looked as if The Ideal International Republic was established in this world." To this an Islam brother replied Insalla! Moobarak!

A Persian-Arminian lady Mme Ohanion graced the occasion by giving most original and enchanting Oriental danses, and the representatives of the different Oriental nationalities gave congratulations to the young republicans, and the party dispersed by mid-night; after taking light supper and refreshments; and wishing good luck and success to China!

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Manifesto from the Republic of China to all Friendly Nations.

GREETING. — The hitherto irremediable suppression of the individual qualities and national aspirations of the people having arrested the intellectual, the moral, and the material development of China, the aid of revolution has been invoked to extirpate the primary cause, and we now proclaim the resultant overthrow of the despotic sway wielded by the Manchu Dynasty and the stablishment of a Republic.

The substitution of a Republic for a Monarchical form of Government is not the fruit of a transient passion. It is the natural outcome of a long-cherished desire for broad-based freedom making for permanent contentment and uninterrupted advancement. It is the formal declaration of the will of the Chinese nation.

We, the Chinese people, are peaceful and law-abiding. We have waged no war except in self-defence. We have borne our grievances during two hundred and sixtyseven years of Manchu misrule with patience and forbearance. We have by peaceful means endeavoured to redress our wrongs, secure our liberty, and ensure our progress, but we have failed. Oppressed beyond human endurance we deemed it our inalienable right as well as our sacred duty to appeal to arms to deliver ourselves and our posterity from the yoke to which we have so long been subjected, and for the first time in our history inglorious bondage has been transformed to an inspiring freedom splendid with the lustrous light of opportunity.

The policy of the Manchu dynasty has been one of unequivocal seclusion and unyielding tyranny. Beneath it we have bitterly suffered, and we now submit to the free peoples of the world the reasons justifying the revolution and the inauguration of our present government.

Prior to the usurpation of the Throne by the Manchus the land was open to foreign intercourse and religious tolerance existed, as is evidenced by the writings of Marco Polo and the inscription on the Nestorian tablet of Sian-fu.

Dominated by ignorance and selfishness the Manchus closed the land to the outer world and plunged the Chinese people into a state of benighted mentality calculated to operate inversely their natural talents and capabilities, thus committing a crime against humanity and the civilised nations almost impossible of expiation.

Actuated by a desire for the perpetual subjugation of the Chinese, by a vicious craving for aggrandisement and wealth, the Manchus governed the country to the lasting injury and detriment of our people, creating privileges and monopolies and erecting about themselves barriers of exclusion in national customs and personal conduct which have been rigorously maintained throughout the centuries.

They have levied irregular and unwholesome taxes upon us without our consent, have restricted foreign trade to Treaty Ports, placed likin embargoes upon merchandise in transit; and obstructed internal commerce.

They have retarded the creation of industrial enterprises; rendered impossible the development of natural resources, and wilfully neglected to safeguard vested interests.

They have denied us a regular system and impartial administration of justice; inflicted unusual and cruel punishments upon all persons charged with offences whether innocent or quilty; and frequently encroached upon our sacred rights without due process of law.

They have connived at official corruption; sold offices to the highest bidder; and have, subordinated merit to influence.

They have repeatedly rejected our most reasonable demand for better government, and have reluctantly conceded psuedoreforms under most urgent pressure, making promises without intention of fulfilling them; and obstructing efforts towards national elevation.

They have failed to appreciate the anguishing lessons taught by the foreign powers in the process of years, and have brought themselves and our people beneath the contempt of the world.

To remedy these evils and render possible the entrance of China to the family of nations we have fought and formed our government, and lest our good intentions should be misunderstood we now publicly and unreservedly declare the following to be our promises:

All treaties entered into by the Manchu Government before the date of the Revolution will be continually effective up to the time of their termination; but any and all entered into after the commencement of the Revolution will be repudiated.

All foreign loans or indemnities incurred by the Manchu Government before the Revolution will be acknowledged without any alteration of terms; but all payments made to, and loans incurred by, the Manchu Government after the commencement of the Revolution will be repudiated.

All concessions granted to foreign nations or their nationals by the Manchu Government before the Revolution will be respected, but any and all granted after the commencement of the Revolution will be repudiated.

All persons and property of any foreign nation within the jurisdiction of the Republic of China will be respected.

It will be our constant and aim firm endeavour to build upon a stable and enduring foundation a national structure compatible with the potentialities of our long neglected country.

We will strive to elevate our people; secure them in peace, and legislate for their prosperity.

To those Manchus who abide peacefully within the limits of our jurisdiction we will accord equality and give protection.

We will remodel our laws; revise our civil, criminal, commercial and mining codes; reform our finances; abolish restrictions to trade and commerce, and ensure religious toleration.

The cultivation of better relation with foreign peoples and government will ever be before us? It is our earnest hope that the foreign nations who have been steadfast in sympathy will bind more firmly the bonds of friendship, that they will bear in patience with us in the period of trial confronting us in our reconstructive work, and that they will aid us in the consummation of the far-reaching plans which we are now about to undertake, and which they have been so long and so vainly urging upon the people of this our country.

With this message of peace and good-will the Republic of China cherishes the hope of being admitted into the family of nations, not merely to share their rights and privileges but also to co-operate with them in the great and noble task called for in the upbuilding of the civilisation of the world.

(Signed) SUN YAT-SEN, *President.*
(Countersigned)
WU TING-FANG,
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Dated, Nanking, 5th day of the 10th Month of the First year of the Republic of China. (5th January 1912).

Persia Need Not Despair.

Perhaps the most iniquitous act of the most criminal government that has exercised power in England during the past hundred years, has been the suppression of the constitutional effort of the Persian people to establish an independent government of there own, in there own way and for there own benefit, while maintaining peaceful and friendly relations with the neighbaring countries. That Russia should have desired to prevent such a consummation of the Persian revolution is perfectly comprehensible. The Russian Czardom is the enemy of freedom everywhere, at home and abroad; its hands are dripping-red with the blood of its own subjects, and it could not, in the nature of things, therefore, be expected to be tender in its dealings with a weak, helpless and divided people like the Persians, whose territory it coveted and who stand in the way of the realization of its ambitions.

With England it is different. To those who have heard her proclaimed as the Mother of Parliaments, and have known her as the refuge of the oppressed and down-trodden fluing from tyranny wherever it was exercised, it came like a shock — almost a strimming blow — to see her allied with Russia and join hand-in-hand with her in the crushing out of constitutional government in Persia, however crude and imperfect it may have been, and dividing with her the territory of the Persian people. Such un act in any past stage of the worlds' history might have passed almost without comment or reprobation, for the terms Christian and Civilized had not yet come to have any meaning. Notwithstanding that nearly all the governments of Europe laid claim to be "Christian," there morality in their dealings with each other was that of the Thieves' Kitchen. But a wave of higher sentiment passed over Europe and governments fonud that it was necessary to be not only Christian but "Civilized", or at least to appear to be. At all events they assumed the attributes, and for a short time the world seemed to be getting better — but only for a short time. Commercialism and loan-financing came on the scene and soon got the upper hand.

Of all the Christian and Civilized nations, none entered with more gest into the orgy of debauch that ensued on the general lapse

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from the assumed virtue of Christianity and Civilization than England, the boasted home of philantropy and political and social reform, and the well-spring of advancing civilization. She has out done Russia in brutality and surpassed Italy in duplicity. She is engaged in every pat of the world where she has a free hand, in trampling on the rights of humanity, in plundering the weak and oppressing those unable to resist. The religion of her government and people has nothing in common with the teachings of the divine being whose name they have given to it, and is but a cloak to cover the arrogance and cruelty of a spirit engendered in the lowest pit of hell.

Against such a combination as that of Russia and England, the instruments of modern finance and commercialism, Persia was powerless and was forced to succumb. There were no friends within reach, and the interests of those peoples whose governments might have intervened, prevented them from interfering and thereby causing a general disturbing of the world's peace. But there is on old saying that it is a long road that has no turning, and there are signs that England has about reached the point where her career of iniquity will meet a check. Her internal conditions and the resulting loss of prestige and authority in the world's councils will compel a change of conduct on the part of her government towards other nations, large and small, and destroy that glamor that has hitherto surrounded her in the eyes of the hopeless and easily duped.

There was one country that at one moment played a part in the last stage of the Persian question that seemed to offer a gleam of hope that at least the independence of the Persian people might be preserved. That country was the United States of America, but the hope that anything could come of the nomination of Mr. W. Morgan Shuster, formerly Treasurer-General of Persia, to that office has vanished with his expulsion from the country by Russia and England, for that is what it amounted to.

After his return to America Mr. Shuster made, in a series of interviews and addresses, some very caustic remarks on both the governments to whom he owed his forced exit from Persia, but he made the mistake which all visitors to London from countries which are the victims of English brutality and treachery make after being well received by a handful of well-meaning and right-thinking people such as are to be found in every country, even in Russia, in thinking and saying that "the British people have little sympathy will the immoral and disastrous foreign policy of there present government." Mr. Shuster does not understand that, taken as a whole the British people, do not care a straw what there government does abroad so long as they have enough to eat and drink, and it finds places for their sons in India, Egypt, and other dependencies of the empire. The British people are without a soul to be saved, they therefore cannot save others. They are the slaves of the most brutal domination the world has ever-known, the most pervading and relentless in its operations, the international money-power. It is England and the English people that constitute its power, and having neither the desire nor intelligence to deliver themselves from it, any appeal to them to deliver others from it is but labor lost.

All the same what Mr. Shuster said after his return to America is worth reproducing and remembering. On February 22 on his arrival at New-York he gave out the following interview:

"The past year has witnessed three acts of international brigandage, each perpetrated by Christian nations against Mohammedans and each more shocking to the accepted principles of humanity and justice than the preceding one. Compared to the cynical brutality with which the Persians have been treated even the Tripolitan outrage pales.

"The Russian Government had not a single spark of justification in either law, morals or fact for its barbaric cruelty toward the Persian people and the British Government must be judged by its acquiesence in the acts of its partner in crime.

"England dealt civilization and progress a foul blow when she set to work to create a strong Russia after the Japanese war. The British people are beginning to realize this now, and they will see it still more clearly in the next ten years.

"In its endeavor to outpoint Germany in the European diplomatic game, the British Foreign Office has paid a stiff price for something which will never be delivered—Russian support against Germany. The eyes of the British Foreign Secretary have been so glued on Europe for the past few years that he has completely overlooked the British Empire in Asia. One result is that there is no longer a buffer State between Russia and the Indo-Persian frontier.

"Another is that 72,000,000 Mohammedans, in India have so far changed their feelings toward England as to no longer be an offset to Hindu agitations. Another result is that England has lost caste as the friend and helper of struggling peoples, and this outward manifestation of national prestige is being felt among all classes of the British people themselves.

"British commerce in Persia, of course, suffers immensely. The Manchester merchants can testify on this point, to say nothing of English banking interests. For the policy recently pursued by the British. Government in Persia there has not even been the sordid excuse of seliprofit.

"Russia herself will be on the Persian Gulf in another ten years, for England has shown too plainly that she cannot stop her Kipling's bear who walks like a man will then be a stern reality for the Indian Government.

"I trust that there will be a loud laugh the next time the Czar calls a peace conference. There will certainly be twisted smiles on the faces of the Persians.

"During my stay in London I met a great many members of Parliament, leading journalists, publicists, and business men, and I cannot recall a single one who, when he knew the facts about the part played by his Government in Persia. did not condemn it unsparingly.

"Incidentally, I was able te show post mortem, as it were, that of the several allegations made against me by Russia, and supported by Sir Edward Grey in the British Parliament, not a single one was true. They were based on absolutely false statements. Of course it makes no particular difference now, but even the London *Times*, organ of the British Foreign Office, was compelled to drop its charges of indiscretion against me.

"To-day the so-called Goverment of Persia is conducted by a few professional politicians, without a shadow of legal authority, who take their orders from the Russian Legation and are kept in power by Russian inflence alone. A Belgian well known to be a mere tool of Russia has been placed in charge of the finances.

"The financial question in Persia is the controlling one; what the control of the money cannot effect Russia has troops at hand to bring about. She strikes terror by her cruel massacres and executions and then asks the world to believe that she is only protecting Russian interests. Those interests will never bear the light of public inspection.

The only representative body which the Persians have ever had, the Medjlis, has been ruthlessly destroyed. Its members were too opposed to betraying their people and territory into Russian hands. Russia decreed their destruction after purchasing a thousand or two armed tribesmen in Teheran. Russia supports the present clique who call themselves the Persian Cabinet and Russian troops wage war on peaceful citizens throughout the nothern half of Persia. Who then represents the sovereignty there? And why ask what is the future of Persia?

"Her future is there now before our eyes. The victim of Russian and British treachery lies bound and gagged, and the world may be sure that however cunningly cloaked her agents may be, Russia will never allow the control of this vast territory and its twelve millions of people to slip from her hands. She will probably be forced to abate ostensibly some of her cruel measures as a concession to rising public indignation in England, but the public soon forgets these little affairs and Russia has learned to bide her time."

On March 1, Mr. Shuster spoke at a crowded meeting at Carnegie Hall in New-York, and again put the case of Persia before the American people. He told with somewhat greater detail than previously of the continual Russian intrigues which turned Persia's short-lived Parliamentary Government into a "Russian satrapy" again. He began by describing how after over 1.800 years of despotism Persia, a few years ago, persuaded the Shah to abdicate and started a Parliamentary Government, and how the Parlimentary Government, not being able to get European advisers because of the international jealousies there, appealed to the President of the United States, who sent him to reconstruct Persia's badly tangled national finances.

Mr. Shuster said the Russian intrigues in Persia began at once, although both Russia and England had previously signed agreements not to interfere in the plan of the parliamentary Government. Russia's first intrigue, he said, was to provide the deposed Shah with money, arms, and men and send him on a Persian invasion. The Shah's invasion took place last July, but didn't succeed. The Persian parliamentary Government then started to confiscate all the property in Persia of the Shah and his family. But the Russian consular agents drove out the agents of the Persian Government and tried to get them into a fight, which could have been made an excuse for formal Russian interference in Persian affairs. The actions of the Russian Consul General at Teheran were so overt and undiplomatic in trying to force this fight, Mr. Shuster said, that the British Minister at Teheran cabled to his home office:

The acts of the Russian Consul General here are only explainable on the theories that he is either insane or drunk, or both.

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Nevertheless, not only the Russian but the British home Cabinets preferred to believe a false charge made by the Russian Consul General at Teheran, over the head of the Russian Minister, to the effect that the Persian Government and Mr. Shuster had threatened the lives of the Russian Consular agents. Russia, with England's tacit consent, forced the Persian Minister to St. Petersburg to apologize publicly. In addition to the apology, Russia delivered an ultimatum ordering the Persian Parliament to dismiss Shuster, and all the other American advisers, and to employ in future only such advisers as Russia and England may select. The Persian Parliament refused to accept the order. But the Persian Cabinet achieved a coup d'etat and closed the Parliament.

"The result was that the Americans have left Persia," Mr. Shuster said, "The Persian Constitutional Government has been destroyed. Persia will probably never again have a National Assembly of any kind as far as we can see now. Over 2,500 Persians, many of them innocent, and not knowing what a firearm is, have been butchered in the last six weeks. Starvation stalks. Over 40,000 people in one district alone, are said to be starving, and the whole nothern part of Persia is overrun with Russian troops. And the Persian people —that element of them that had fought for five years—sacrificed their lives, their property, their homes, everything that is dear to them in order to see a representative Government, are being hounded and harried into the mountains or into exile."

But when all is said that can be said against Russia and England in this Persian matter, there remains the hard and undeniable fact that England would never have dared to act as she has in Persia but for the treason to Islam of the Moslems of India led by such men as Mr. Ameer Ali and the Aga Khan. It is they who are responsible for the massacres and oppression now going on in Persia by Russia with the acquiescence of England, and the blood of their brother Moslems of Persia is on the heads of the Moslems of India; and that of other Moslems in Turkey and Afghanistan will also be on their heads before long, for nothing is more certain than that England and Russia are comtemplating attacks on both those countries so soon as a favorable opportunity offers.

The interest taken in Persian affairs by American papers at the time of Mr. Shuster's arrival in America after his expulsion from Persia was of course very satisfactory and gratifying, but to use a common phrase, "there was nothing in it." Such governments as those of Russia and England care nothing for mere manifestations of sympathy, the only thing they respect is force, and no American government is going to use force in support of a people struggling for freedom in the heart of Asia. To think otherwise and to trust to it is to indulge in illusions.

What hope there is for Persia must come from Turkey and her friends; but in what way Persia can be helped by them is not yet very clear and must be left to time to develop. Self-defence alone will compel Turkey to hold out a helping-hand to Persia, and when she does the opportunity will come to the Moslems of India to say to England. "Hands off both Persia and Turkey!" At the present moment there is a treacherous show of friendship for Turkey being made by England, but no one who bears in mind the perfidy of British Goverments in their dealings with Turkey will attach any importance to it. It was England that sent Italy into Tripoli and by proclaming the neutrality of Egypt prevented Turkey sending troops and arms to defend it against nivasion; and it is England that is intriguing to deprive the Sultan of the Khalifat and to confer it on some tool of her own in order to control, through him, the Moslems of India and Africa under the British flag

The whole policy of England is a gigantic conspiracy against human liberty, working in combination with that other conspiracy, the money-power. Under the Czardom, Russia is the slave of that same power which also holds the French Republic in bondage. — It is that power which holds the Triple *entente* together and is using it for the enslavement of all mankind. The day of freedom cannot come until it is overthrown, and that overthrow can only be effected by a general world-wide revolution, following perhaps on a great war the result of some one or more nations resistance to its dictates. Or it may come through the people of one of the great nations freeing themselves from its tyranny, and in order to preserve their own liberties helping other and weaker peoples to attain their freedom. In the meantime the Persians and other Asiatic peoples must learn the great lesson of freedom, that it can only be attanied and enjoyed by those that are worthy of it; that the gods help those that help themselves, and that unity is strength.

NEMO.

NOTES.

Empty Alliance.

Japanese Press and Great Britain.

Darly News 8th. Feb.

The Osaka Mainichi' (the principal provincal newspaper of Japan, affiliated with the Tokio "Nichi-nichi," a journal of very considerable importance), claims that for all practial purposes the Anglo-Japanese Alliance ended with its revision last July.

According to the paper, England is no longer faithful to the principle of the Alliance as regards the territorial integrity of China, and it is even rumoured that she has intentions on Tibet, similar to those of Russia in Mongolia. Consequently it is a matter of supreme importance to know whether the Alliance is to be considered as still alive or not, and the Japanese Government would do well to make some explicit declaration on the subject.

The words of the "Mainchi" alone, in spite of the journal's inportant following in the country, and especially amongst the commercial classes, might not be of great importance if they were not confirmed and even accentuated by the leading article in the Tokio "Nichi-nichi" to-day. The article crosses the t's and dots the i's of the Osaka journal in the most vigorous manner.

"For a long time now feeling betweem Great Britain and Japan has been undergoing a change. There is no concealingthe fact that it is no longer what it was before the Russo-Japanes War. At the time of the tariff the friendly relation were only mainained by concession from the side of the Japanese. The revision of the terms of the Alliance has reduced it from a real value to this country to a merely nominal value.

"The friendship which has been steadily growing between Great Britain and Russia is something to be watched. The action of Great Briiain in the China trouble has not been true to the Alliance. The tacit concent given to Russian action in Mongolia is a violation of the integrity of China, and on top of it we are informed that Great Britain at the right moment will adopt similar steps in Tibet." — Reuter.

Russian Methods in Egypt.

"The Times" reports that on December 20 the Coptic Congress was dissolved in Cairo. The Copts, who had come together to voice the needs and aspirations of the Egyptian people, were asked to keep silence in order to enable their oppressors to carry on the game of plunder. On December 19 the Nationalist paper "Al Alam" was suppressed. The editor brought out the paper under the name of "Al Shaab" the day after. He was fined £ 10 for his enterprise and temerity, and all the copies were seized.

Three acts of brutality committed in two days under the direction of the Liberal Government, and exactly in the manner in which such things are carried out in Russia!

The Liberal Government is proving itself to be a good pupil of its friend and ally—the Russian despotism.

Egypt.

To denounce the British Government is sedition in Egypt; and for a speech delivered by Mahomed Farid Bey, President of the Nationalist Party, at the annual convention of that body, he has been sentenced to one year's hard labour. The sentence will not at present take effect, as he is abroad—in Europe. Aly Bey Fahmy Kamel (brother of the late Mustapha Kamel, who founded the party) and Ismail Hafez were sent to prison for three months.

Kitchener has also put his foot down on "Egypt," the monthly organ of the Egyptlan Committee in London, which has been "prohibited entrance, circulation and sale" in Egypt. As Mr. Wilfrid Scrawen Blunt points out in a letter to the Londen "Times," "Egypt" has carefully refrained from anything in the nature of an incitement to disorder, or any severe criticism, either of the Khedive or the native Government, its criticisms for the last six months being confined to the regime of absolute military authority exercised over the native Government by his Majesty's present Agent and to whom alone, we attribute the present prohibition." Mr. Blunt adds: "The prohibition will not, of course, stop the publication of the paper, whose chief circulation is outside Egypt, and will probably increase it in that country." *Justice.*

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THE Bande Mataram

Monthly Organ of Indian Independence.

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.
(*Gautama Buddha*).

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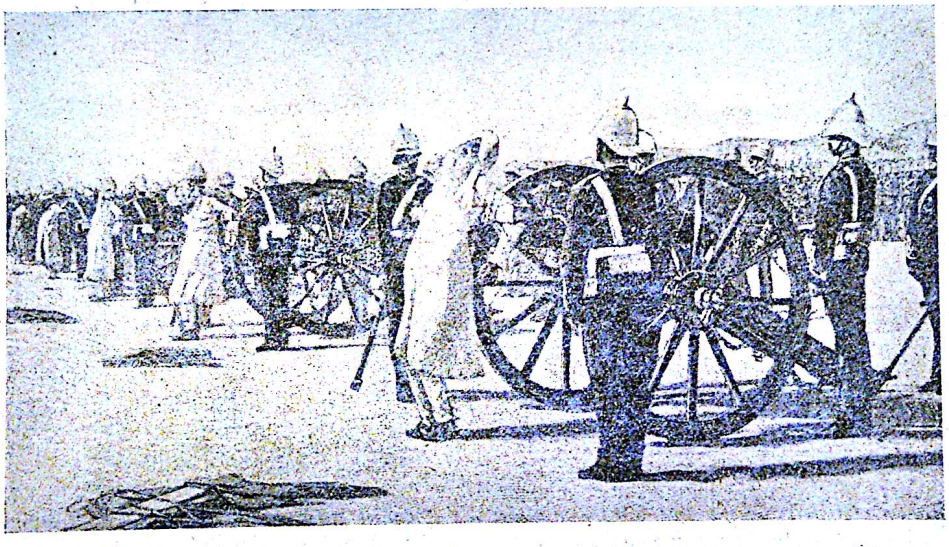

VICTIMS OF BRITISH BRUTALITY
Indian Revolutionaries blown from the mouth of guns
(From the painting of the great Russian painter Verastchagin)

Oh Martyrs!!

The battle of freedom once begun
And handed down from sire to son
Though often lost is ever won!!

To-day is the 10th of May! It was on this day, that, in the ever memorable year of 1857, the first campaign of the war of Independence was opened by you, oh martyrs, on the battlefields of India. The Motherland, awakened to the sense of her degrading slavery, unsheathed her sword, burst forth the shackles and struck the first blow for her liberty and for her honour. It was on this day that the war cry *Maro Firungee Ko* was raised by the throats of thousands, It was on this day that sepoys of Meerut having risen in a terrible uprising marched down to Delhi, saw the waters of the Jumna glittering in the sunshine, caught one of those historical moments which close past epoch to introduce a new one, and „had found, in a moment, a leader, a flag, and a cause, and converted the mutiny into a national and a religious war." [1])

1) Justien Mc Carthy "History of our own Times", vol. III.

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All honour be to you, oh Martyrs; for it was for the preservation of the honour of the race that you performed the fiery ordeal of a revolution, when the religious of the land were threatened with a forcible and sinister conversion, when the hypocrite threw off his friendly garb and stood up into the naked heinousness of a perfidious foe breaking treaties, smashing crowns forging chains, and mocking all the while our merciful Mother for the very honesty with which she believed the pretensions of the white liar, then you, oh martyrs of 1857 awoke the Mother, inspired the Mother and for the Honour of the Mother, rushed to the battefield, terrible and tremendous, with the warcry *Maro Firungee ko* on your lips, and with the sacred mantra "God and Hindustan" on your banner! Well did you do in rising! For otherwise although your blood might have been spared, yet the stigma of servility would have been the deeper, one more link would have been added to the cursed chain of demoralising patience, and the world would have again contemptuously pointed to our nation saying „She deserves slavery, she is happy in slavery! For even in 1857 she did not raise even a finger to protect her interest and her honour!"

This day therefore, we dedicate, oh martyrs, to your inspiring memory! It was on this day that you raised a new flag to be upheld, you uttered a mission to be fulfilled, you saw a vision to be realized, you proclaimed a nation to be born!

We take up your cry, we revere your flag, we are determined to continue that fiery mission of "away with the foreigner!" which you uttered, amidst the prophetie thunderings of the Revolutionary war — Revolutionary, yes, it was a revolutionary war. For the war of 1857 shall not cease till the revolution arrives, striking slavery into dust, elevating liberty to the throne. Whenever a people rises for its freedom, whenever that seed of liberty gets germinated in the blood of its fathers, whenever that seed of liberty gets germinated in the blood of its martyrs and whenever there remains at-least one true son to avenge that blood of his fathers, there never can be an end to such a war as this. No, a Revolutionary war knows no truce save liberty or death! We, inspired by your memory, determine to continue the struggle you began in 1857, we refuse to acknowledge the armistice as a truce; we look upon the battles you fought as the battles of the first campaign — the defeat of which cannot be the defeat of the war. What? Shall the world say that India has accepted the defeat as a final one? That the blood of 1857 was shed in vain? That the sons of Ind betray their fathers' vows? No, by Hindustan no! The historical continuity of the Indian nation is not cut off. The war began on the 10th of May of 1857, is not over on the 10 th of May of 1908, nor shall it ever cease till a 10th of May to come, sees the distiny accomplished, sees the beautiful Ind crowned, either with the lustre of victory or with the halo of martyrdom!

But, O glorious martyrs, in this pious struggle of your sons, help! O help us by your inspiring presence! Torn in innumerable petty selves, we cannot realize the grand unity of the Mother. Whisper, then, unto us by what magic, you caught the secret of Union. How the Firungee rule was shattered to pieces and the Swadeshi thrones were set up by the common consent of Hindus and Mahomedans. How, in the higher love of the Mother united the difference of castes and creeds, how the venerated and venerable Bahadur Shah prohibited the killing of cows throughout India, how Shrimant Nana Saheb, after the first salute of thundering cannon to the Emperor of Delhi — resered for himself the second one! How you staggered the whole world by uniting under the banner of Mother and forced your enemies to say "Among the many lessons the Indian mutiny conveys to the historian and administrator none is of greater importance than the warning that it is possible to have a revolution in which Brahmins and Shudras, Mahomedan and Hindu were united against us and that it is not safe to suppose that the peace and stability of our dominion in any great measure depends on the continent being inhabited by different races with different religious systems, for they mutually understand each other and respect and take a part in each other's modes and ways and doings". Whisper unto us the nobility of such an alliance of Religion with Patriotism — the true religion which ever is on the side of patriotism, the tue patriotism which secures the freedom of religion!

And give us the marvellous energy, daring and secrecy with which you organized the mighty volcano; show us the volcanic magma that underlie the green thin crust, on which the foe is to be kept lulled into a false security; tell us how the chapati — that fiery cross of India, flew from village to village and from valley to valley, setting the whole intellect of the nation on fire by the very vagueness of its message and then let us hear the roaring thunder with which the volcano at last burst forth, with an all-shattering force, rushing, smashing, burning and consuming into one continuous fiery flow of redhot lava-flood! Within a month regiment after regiment, prince after prince, city after city, sepoys, police, zemindars, pundits, moulvis, the multiple-headed Revolution sounded its tocsin and temples and mosques resounded with the cry "Maro Firungee ko!" Away with the foreigners! Meerut rose, Delhi rose, rose Benares, Agra, Patna Lucknow, Allahabad, Jadagerpoor, Jhansi, Banda, Indore, — From Peshawar to Calcutta and from the Narbada to the Himalayas, the volcano burst forth into a sudden, simultaneous and all-consuming conflagration!!

And then, oh martyrs, tell us the little as well as the great defects which you found out in our people in that great experiment of yours. But above all, point out that most runious, nay the only material drawback in the body of the nation which rendered all your efforts futile — the mean selfish blindness which refuses to see its way to join the Nation's cause. Say, that the only cause of the defeat of Hindustan was Hindustan herself; that shaking away the slumber of centuries the mother rose to hit the foe but while her right hand was striking the Firungee dead, her left hand struck, alas, not the enemy but her own forehead! So she staggered and fell back into an inevitable swoon of 50 years!

50 years are past, but oh restless spirits of 1857, we promise you with our hearts' blood, that your *Diamond Jubilee shall not pass* without seeing your wishes fulfilled!! We have heard your voice and we gather courage from it. With limited means you sustained a war, not against tiranny alone but against tiranny and treachery together. The Duab and Ayodya, making a united stand, waged a war not only against the whole of the British power but against the rest of India too: and yet you fought for three years, and yet you had well nigh snatched away the crown of Hindustan and smashed the hollow existence of the alien rule. What an encouragement this! What the Duab and Ayodya could do in a month, the simultaneous, sudden and determined rising of the whole of Hindustan can do in a day! This hope illumines our heart and assures us of success. And so we avow that your Diamond Jubilee the year 1917 shall not pass without seeing the resurging Ind making a triumphant entry into the world!

For, the bones of Bahadur Shah are crying vengeance from their grave! For, the blood of dauntless Laxmi is boiling with indignation! For, the shahid Peer Ali of Patna, when he was going to the gallows for having refused to divulge the secrets of the conspiracy whispered defiance to the Firungee said in prophetie words "You may hang me today, you may hang such as me every day, but thousands will still rise in my place — your object will never be gained".

Indians, these words must be fulfilled! Your blood, oh martyrs, shall be avenged!! BANDE MATARAM.

Deshbhakta Vinayak Damodar Savarkar had written this above eulogy in 1908, for the celebration of the memory of Hinduthan's National Rising in 1857 on the 10th May, and I have reproduced it here, even without changing the year 1908 mentioned in it by him. Let us hope that in the lifetime of Desh Savarkar, there will be a succesfull revolution in Hindoosthan; and that this worthy and noble son of Bharat Mata, will be brought back to her, from his excile and imprisonment in triumphan by his party and faithful colleagues, (who are keeping up his work with courage in face of all the up and down.

I *also* give below the final chapter of Savarkar's worldwide known history "The Indian War of Independence of 1857".

This history can be bought for twenty francs from me and the money will go to Savarkar's family; whose whole property is confiscated by The English.

BHIKHAIJI RUSTOM CAMA,
25 Rue de Ponthieu — Champs Elysées,
10th May 1912. PARIS (France).

Conclusion.

Now the volcano has temporarily subsided. Readers might, however, ask what became of Feroze Shah and Rao Sahib?

After leaving Tatia, Rao Sahib fought desperately for a month and at last retired to the forests in disguise. At the end of about three years, he was also caught and was hanged at Cawnpore on the 20th of August, 1862. Feroze Shah was also roaming about in disguise, but, fortunately, in the end, he got out of India and stayed at Kerbela in Persia.

The Revolution of 1857, as such, has been discussed, from time to time. Did the Revolution burst out too early, before the preparations were ripe? We think not. The preparations that were made in 1857 are not usually found even in successful revolutions. When regiment upon regiment of soldiers, kings of mighty power,

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higher officers of the existing government, the police, and large towns, all, one after another, gave promises to rise, who would not start at once? Besides, it is often the case that the real difficulty is at the start and the whole country rises only later on. The consideration also proves that the leaders of the Revolution did not at all precipitate matters. Those who dare not rise even with so many facilities are not the men who can ever rise at all!

Then, why was there the defeat? Several minor reasons have already been mentioned in their proper places. But the chief reason appears to be this. Though the plan of the destructive part of Revolution was complete, its creative part was not attractive enough. Nobody was against destroying the English power; but what about the future? If it was only to re-establish the former internecine strife, if it was to bring again the same state of affairs as before, the same Moguls, the same Mahrattas, and the same old quarrels—a condition, being tired of which, the nation, in a moment of mad folly, allowed foreigners to come in—if it were only for this, the more ignorant of the populace did not think it worth while to shed their blood for it. Therefore, the Revolution worked out successfully as far as the destructive part was concerned; but, as soon as the time for construction came, indifference, mutual fear, and want of confidence sprang up. If there had been set clearly before the people at large a new ideal attractive enough to captivate their hearts, the growth and completion of the Revolution would have been as successful and as grand as its beginning.

Even had these people thoroughly understood at least so much that creation comes only after the Deluge, the Revolution would have succeeded. But, let alone creation, the country could not accomplish even the deluge thoroughly! And, why? Because, the vice of treachery and baseness had not yet gone away from the land. The defeat was chiefly due to the treachery of those men who had not sense enough to understand that the English power was more harmful than even the former kind of Swaraj ever could be, and of those who had not the honesty and patriotism to refuse to give help to the foreigner against their own countrymen.

And the whole sin of this defeat lies on the head of these traitors! Had there been a clear and attractive ideal, even the traitors would have become patriots. When patriotism is profitable and paying, there is no advantage in playing the risky and shameful part of the betrayer. There is no special merit in that. The real glory belongs to those heroes who thoroughly understood that foreign domination is worse than Swaraj-Swaraj, democratic or monarchical, or even anarchical—and thus came out to fight for independence. Freedom is coveted not that the country might become wealthy but because in it alone consists the peace of the soul; honour is greater than loss or gain; the forest of independence is better than the cage though made of gold. Those who understood this principle, those who fulfilled their duty to their religion and to their country, those who lifted their swords for Swadharma and Swaraj and courted death if not for victory at least for duty, let their names be remembered, pronounced with reverence! Those who did not join them in the holy war, through indifference or hesitation, may their names never be remembered by their country. And, as for those who actually joined the enemy and fought against their own countrymen, may their names be for ever cursed! The Revolution of 1857 was a test to see how far India had come towards unity, independence, and popular power. The fault of failure lies with the idle, effeminate, selfish, and treacherous men who ruined it. But those who, wielding the sword dripping with their own hot blood, in that great rehearsal, walked boldly on the stage of fire and danced in joy even on the very breast of Death—let no tongue dare to blame those heroes! They were not mad; they were not hasty; they were not the sharers of defeat; they were not inconsiderate; and, therefore, they can not be blamed. It was at their call that Mother India woke up from her deep sleep and ran forth to smite slavery down. But while one hand of hers gave a terrific blow on the head of Tyranny, alas! her other hand thrust a dagger in her own heart! And the wounded Mother was thrown down on the ground again! Now, which of these two hands was wicked, cruel, treacherous, and accursed?

Emperor Bahadur Shah was a great poet. During the heat of the Revolution he composed a *Gazal*. Someone asked him:

Dumdumaymen dam nahin ab khair mango janki
Ai Zafar thandi hui shamsher Hisdusthanki.

"Now that, every moment, you are becoming weaker, pray for your life (to the English): for, Oh! Emperor, the sword of India is now broken for ever!"

There is a tradition that the Emperor replied:

Ghazionmen bhû rahegi jabtalak imanki
Tabto Londontak chalegi têgh Hindusthanki.

"As long as there remains the least trace of love of faith in the hearts of our heroes, so long, the sword of Hindusthan shall be sharp, and one day shall flash even at the gates of London."

VANDÊ MÂTARAM.

A Warning to the Indian Police.

The ignorance in which the British government has kept the Indian police — Inspectors, subinspectors and men and their superintendents — and the unholesome corrupt moral atmosphere which the same government has created for them especially, since the birth of the new movement, has imposed on us a certain amount of obligation to teach them their duty towards country and their people. We therefore propose to give them a few words of friendly advise which they will do well to ponder over deeply in their hearts. Other Indians who are serving the tyrants in any capacity whatsoever-whether as members of executive council, High court judges, Magistrate, municipal-commissioners, sheriffs, tashildars, custom-officers clerks or kerauni and even postal and telegraph-officers or clerks for whatever their official duty the British government induces or compels them to do the work of a spy in addition — Such other Indians also will serve themselves if they will take to heart this advise and shape their conduct in accordance with it.

The first thing that the Indians who are serving in the police department of the British government in India should realise is that they are Indians — that they are children of the one mother Hindusthan. There is a tendency for a police man to think that as soon as he puts on the uniform he becomes a different man altogether — he seems to imagine that he belongs to the "Ruling Class" in Hindusthan. But let him guard himself against this notion. Neither his parents nor his wife is a police officer. Possibly he has a brother who cultivates his lands, keeps a shop. If there is a marriage or death in his family his neighbours-the people-that have to come and help him in the proper conduct of the ceremonies, and not the uninformed policemen his co-servant under the tyrant. He eats the same food, pays the same taxes and is subject to the same tyrannical laws as the common man. How then can he put on airs as a superior being and treat the people with contempt?

Next let him put himself under a rigorous self-examination for about half an hour and see himself as others see him. How dark and disgusting a picture will reveal itself before his wonder struck eyes! The pay that the police peon receives is low-very low indeed while that which the head-or the sub-inspector receives, has only just recently made adequate; and a hoary tradition has grown up among them that the people can be freely fleeced to the point at which they will be induced to take upon themselves the risk of prosecuting them (the policeman) for bribary. The poor honest villager who comes to worship to a temple festival is made to stand and deliver the few pence that he possesses if he is to escape being charged, falsely in the majority of cases, with nuisance. The carriage walla must pay his monthly or early quota, otherwise he will be teased with prosecutions under the hackney-carriage act. The poor folk that return from Rangoon or Singapore, Natal or Columbia, possessed of a few Rupees-the earning of a life time of slavery to the Anglo-Saxon and of untold misery are waylaid at the railway station, threatned with police custody and made to part with a substantial part of their earnings. The prosecutor must grease the police-walla's hands if the investigation should be carried on with the reasonable care. The accused can escape with a report of "no evidence" if he can pay more than his advarsary. Very often the police man himself deliberately brings a false charge against a rich man or somebody against whom he has grudge suborns false evidence and is often able to have him convicted at the same time receiving fabulous amounts from the base wretches who execute their vengeance against their neighbours with the help of English "law". And now they have got another occupation-the shadowing of politicals and the writing of false reports against them. If any man talks about swadeshi, keeps a swade shi shop clothes himself in swadeshi cloth speaks loveingly about his country, makes peace between his fellow citizen by establishing a panchayat and persuading them to submit their dispute before it, or in any way shows that he loves his country, and desires the welfare of his countrymen, the police at once regard him as their prey and persue him with their confidencial reports and false accusations until either they see him in prison or make him give up his patriotism.

This is the picture that will unfold itself before the eyes of the Indian policeman if he will but pause to submit himself to a some what serious self examination. The picture is not at all exagerated. No man in his normal senses would like to be subject of this picture and yet we find tens of thousands of our fellow countrymen

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degrading themselves by working as policemen and commiting the many atrocities that we have detailed above. Alas, the majority of them are impelled by hunger to take up police work, and the tyrant has taken care by giving them low wages, to make them as currupt as possible and thus convert in to so many instruments of tyranny ready to sink to any depth that he demands. But however currupt they may have become, still we hope that they possess sufficient manhood to understand their duties towards their country when we tell them and to act up to them whem they understand them.

First there are the primary duties of man. The Indian who is employed as a police man or officer must consider that he is a man in the first place and that all the moral duties of life bind him with the same force as if he were not a police man or officer at all he must be kind and loving to his fellow men. He must always be in good temper and use soft words to them and should not fall upon them as if he were a rabid dog. He should be ever ready to do everybody that stands in need of it a good turn. He should consider that he is a public servant — a servant of the people and that the money that he receives as pay comes from the people and not from the tyrant of the country. His proper duty is to help the citizens not merely by detecting crimes against society but in every possible way he should direct the man who is ignorent of the road to his destination, supply him every information that he may require and so far as he can, lead the children and the blind and the maimed across the road at the crossings and generally be a blessing to all that come in his way. This is what the police officers of our ancient kings were doing and this again is what the police are doing in every free country, in the west — Switzerland, France, Germany, Denmark, England etc. The British government takes care that the very idea of what duties are should not enter the heads of our police and that on the contrary they should be made to regard their own countrymen as their enemies or their prey. Therefore the latter should use their brains and consult their conscience and try to get back good name that the tyrant's influence has made them lose.

Next they should be scrupulously honest and truthful. The tyrant does every thing in his power to make them utterly dishonest and lying. For a truthful and honest man can never help a tyrant to oppress his subjects. As a tyrant can preserve his rule only so long as his subjects are broken in spirit and demoralised and disunited, and as the best way to keep the people demoralised and disunited is to set a part of the people themselves to tease and oppress the other part, the tyrant has well taken care that the Indian police should develop all the qualities necessary for the exercise of petty tyranny. He has with this design kept their pay at the lowest possible limit. The constable receives the enormous salary of Rs. 8 (10 s, 8 d.) per month, while the lowest cost of living per head, is Rs. 12. (16 s.) per month. There can be only one motive for keeping the salary of a police man at this low figure and that is to make him fleece the people till they get disgusted with the rule of their own fellow countrymen even in the smallest matters. And by making promotion depend on the *number* of the detections effected by the policeman. The tyrant also gives him the inducement to fabricate false cases. The newspapers abound with the sports of false charges fabricated by police men and supported by confessions extorted from the unhappy wretches by tortures unthinkable. Nothing is secred to the majority of the police corrupted as they are by the tyrant for his own purposes. All the chivalary and natural tenderness of the Eastern peoples have been seared out of their hearts. Parents have been tortured in the presence of their sons, wives have been tortured in the presence of their husbands, children have been tortured in the presence of their parents in order that the victim might confess to a false charge! Women have been led stark naked along public streets, tied to trees, whipped on the back, and also, even outraged, in order to make them give out the whereabouts of their husbands or children who were wanted by the police. And all these outrages are committed by the Indian policemen and against Indians — and for what? In order that they might obtain an increment of a few shillings more to their salary! Alas unhappy men!! for the sake of a few Rupees, how you degrade yourselves, how you cast away every trace of humanity from your nature, how you turn yourselves in to veritable savages! For the sake of God and man, for the sake of humanity and civilisation, for the good name of Hindusthan, desist from such practices.

It would be better to starve and die than to live by injuring your fellow man and becoming an outcast of humanity. And you certainly will not starve. You are strong-limbed and vigorous. A healthy man of your strenght and youth can earn by honest means more than the pay that you receive from the tyrant. So as soon as you find that you have to sacrifice your honesty or tenderness or your truth in order to make a living in your present profession at once give it up and take to something else. The profession of a woodcutter or a railway porter even is more dignified and more paying than your police work!

And now we come to the last duty of a police men of our country about which we shall speak — namely their duty towards their country. Unfortunately our young men are not merely not taught in the English school that the first virtue of a civilized man, is patriotism, but they are taught, on the contrary, to despise their country and their countrymen and to exalt the foreign tyrant that is over ruling them. The tyrant understands Morley's dictum that the first duty of a government is self-preservation and knowing as he does that the day the Indians develops the virtue of patriotism his overlordship will come to an end, has taken care that our young men's ideas should remain antinational and unpatriotic. That is why he finds so many young Indians ready to be employed in his Criminal Investigation Department which is kept up (in spite of his lying decleration in the Parliament that he has improved and reorganized the police) solely for the purpose of dogging the patriotic workers of our country and fabricating false cases against them. But o young men, who are now doing work for the tyrant in the C. I. D., pause for a moment and consider the nature of the movement that is spreading all over Hindusthan. Take off the scales that the tyrant has let grow in your eyes and see what a spectacle meets them. An ancient people — aye, your own people — with a glorious past behind them, but now fallen on evil days are now endeavouring to throw off the foreign yoke and reestablish their own sovereignty in the world The movement is not confined to one province of Hindusthan or even within the four corners of Hindusthan merely. The fire has spread to every province and to every different member of that great and composite people. Many young men of our land are carryng the fire to every little corner of our land in order to prepare for the great day on which we shall fight for our hearths and homes against the tyrant. The great leaders of our people are doing *tapasya* for the same cause-some in the jails of the tyrant, some in exile. Who are they working for? Not for themselves surely, for if they worked for themselves alone, as against the country, they would be occupying the position of a Gokhale or a Rash Behari, a Chandavakar or a Krishnaswamy Aiyar. They are working for the good of our country — for the good of you and me and every other member of our vast nation. How can you find it in your hearts to work against them and their fellow-workers — to work against their cause that they love so much and labour to promote? For the sake of a few rupees how can you undertake to betray your countrymen who are carryng on the work that you also aught to do, and into the hands of the enemy of your country? And what is the reward that you get for such a betrayal? Some bones in the shape of titles, a few rupees, and unreserved contempt. For who can have any respect who betrays his own people, for the man who lives by treason to his own country? He distrusts you and sets other spies upon you. And if you die in his service he does not care two pence for you. The Firinghi Ashe was killed in June of last year and at once the tyrant brought out a false case against men who appear to have had nothing to do with the matter and has condemned nine of them to various terms of imprisonment. On December II th. of last year one of your C. I. D. sub-inspector was shot presumably by an Indian revolutionary and yet no serious attempt has been made by the tyrant to fix the act on any body. And that is the tyrant for whose sake you bear false witness, brutalise yourself, betray your country.

Turn back therefore o ye brothers from this suicidal policy that you are persuing. Mother Hindusthan is struggling for her independence — do ye also help her to achieve it! Your duty is even now to give up your post as policemen or other kind of government servant and join in the work of organising Revolution. But if you are not unselfish enough to give up your salaries at once, act like the police servants of the tyrant in 1857 — never betray the patriot but secretly help him in all his actions though openly professing dissympathy with him, and on the day of rising join in the fight against the tyrant. Then you will be doing some amends for the sin of serving the tyrant just now, and not joining the standard of the country at once. But, if you do not take this warning, if you will not desist from the evil course of betraying those who are working for the country, if you will not begin to give positive help to the cause of liberty, then the hand of the patriot will fall heavily upon you- will fall upon you before even it falls on the Firinghi. For the betrayer of once own country commits the crime of a deeper dye than the foreign oppressor. Remember that the struggle that is taking place in Hindusthan is a war of principle and in the war of principle there will be no mercy to the traitor. Our cause is based upon justice and truth and right: It can never fail: it is God's work and is therefore bound to succeed. Therefore choose your fate — either be counted among the savior or suffer the doom of traitors which is — DEATH.

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THE Bande Mataram

Monthly Organ of Indian Independence.

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.
(Gautama Buddha).

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All communications should be addressed to Madame CAMA, 25, Rue de Ponthieu, Champs Elysées, Paris (France).

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AN APPEAL. **I earnestly request the readers of Bande Mataram to circulate this Journal among their friends in Hindoosthan! — I also request them to let me know; their change of addresses, and to infrom me if they want more copies. — When they leave for Hindoosthan, they should write to me; so that the paper be stopped from going to their present foreign addresses!**

BHIKHAIJI RUSTOM CAMA,
25 Rue de Ponthieu — Champs Elysées, PARIS.

IN MEMORIAM.

In memory of the Egyptian fellahs whom The English murdered at Denishawai in their village home on the 28th June 1906, the following verses have appeared in the Egyptian National Journal *El Leva*,

"Oh, Denishawai, God's peace be on thy hills
Thy memory robs us of our village mirth.
Their graves are here to mind us of our ills,
Their ruined hearths, the holiest of our earth."

"Sad souls of men — how valiant in their pain!
Hurt souls of woman hurling back their curse.
Here stood the scaffold nay, but not in vain.
Who taught us cruelty shall take, and worse".

Bai Satyabhama the wife of Deshbhakta Bala Gangadhara Tilak, died on the 6th June, at her family residence in Narayan Peth. Poona!

She was 50 years old, and has left behind three daughters and two sons.

We are requested to publish in Bandé Mataram translation of the letter of Mr. Farid Bey, which was addressed to the editor of the Journal of Cairo in reply to its article headed "The exhaustion of a party." We comply with the desire of Mr. Farid Bey with great pleasure because we are both fighting against a common foe. The letter thoroughly exposes the cunningness of England and her art of dividing the camp of her enemies. Mr. Farid Bey justly concludes his letter with an aphorism that should be always remembered by weak souls. "England loves treachery but hates traitors." When Said Pacha the present prime minister of Egypt, is found no longer useful, he will be thrown overboard by his present masters. It gives us pain to confess that-England is playing the same game of dividing Hindus and Mahomedans in India with success. We can count a legion of prototypes of Said Pacha both amongst Hindus and the followers of Prophet. We have the Nizam, many Nabobs and Begums, Amir Ali and Abaas Ali Baig similar victims to personal ambition and the idea of false greatness. The Nabob of Dacca still bears the title bestowed on him by his Christian master which in his own words is nothing but a ribbon given to him to hang himself with. Poor Nabob has no sufficient courage to strangle the donor of the title with the same ribbon. If the Moslem religion was alive and the Moslem of India worthy fidels of their Prophet, they could have saved the honour of their faith by rallying round the banner of Islam. But alas the self-worship has possessed their heads and hearts, and consequently we find the degradation of the faithfuls all over the world. Montagu rightly said in one of his speeches that it was a mistake to conside the Mahomedans of India a homogeneons body. There can not be solidarity and fraternity amongst selfish people. It is nothing but hypocrisy to collect funds to build a mosque in London, when

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so many mosques and Moslem homes and hearths are ruined all over the Mahomedan world.

The Indian Mahomedans feel satisfied with passing resolutions in meetings and sending petitions to their Christian masters.

In conclusion let us once more declare that petitions and prayers do not appeal to the tyrants. Our hope lies in small groups of devoted men and women. If we fail once in our conspiracy, let us conspire again and again till we make short work of our tyrants and attain our success.

Mr. Farid Bey's reply to The Egyptian Journal.

My dear Colleague.

I have read with great interest your article having as its title "The exhaustion of a party" published in the journal of Cairo of the 23rd April 1912. You have written well about the politics and determination of Saïd Pacha to annihilate the national party, of which he was a member from the beginning. But I do not partake of your opinion regarding the exhaustion of this party. My departure will not affect at all the strength, nor the composition of our party. The managing committee will not fail in its duty. You are aware of the fact that whatever is done against liberty turns to its profit. I have not left my country to remain inactive, but on the contrary my energy will acquire greater strength on the shores of Bosphorus where I will be free to unmask to the public opinion of the world, the intrigues of Said Pacha and his masters, the object of which is to make *their* country slave of England and to detach from Turkey some of its provinces and annex them to Egypt — that is to say — to England. I will denounce these enemies of Egypt, of the Ottoman Empire, and of the whole Islamic world, so that they will be an object of contempt of the world.

England, cunning in the art of dividing in order to rule and that of knowing how to appeal to the weakness of each of her *ocolytes*, has captured Said Pacha by leaving him full liberty to bestow minor governmentposts on his friends and relations, just as she has captured the Khadive by showing him the mirage of a Caliphate and giving him full control of the religious endowments. Saïd Pacha, in exchange of this shadow of the power left to him by England, has forgotten the oath taken before the late Mustafa Kamel to defend his principles to the death, has betrayed his party, has done his worse to destroy it and persecute its leading members and offered them as *holocaust* to England. Thus Said Pacha has condemned himself to the *opprobrium* of his compatriots and to the contempt of the liberals of all countries. Poor Saïd: the ambition and the love of the false greatness has ruined him. He has become a servile instrument of the enemy of his country and the hangman of his old friends. He will meet the fate of all traitors. He will be cast away when no longer useful to those who at present make use of his treachery. The English love treachery but hate traitors.

Yours

M. FARID.

The English Conspiracy against Islam.

A Constantinople paper recently published a letter from its special correspondent in Egypt which laid bare the intrigues which the English government and its allies among the native Egyptiens are carrying on against the Khalifat at Constantinople. The letter says:

An arab paper "Afkar" lately published an article which was much noticed, in which it was said that last winter during the long visit in Cairo of the former Grand Vizier, Kiamil Pacha, a large number of Ottoman politicians and partisans of the "Liberal Entente" party came to Egypt. These visits, the „Afkar" thinks were not occasioned by the electoral campaign, but are to-be explained rather by the necessity of the Liberal party to get in touch with leading persons of British nationality. One would be inclined to think from this that certain Turkish Liberal politicians are preparing the decentralisation of Turkish Arabia and are thus, knowingly or unknowingly, augmenting the influence exercised in those parts by England. Thus all the conditions would be afforded for the establishment of an Arab Khalifat. Now the Arab Khalifat is an old dream of English policy which it believes can be brought about by the destruction of Islamism so far as it is a political factor.

These remarks of the Egyptian paper are not entirely without foundation, as may be seen by the papers that have appeared during the past weeks. Kiamil Pacha in his memorial addressed to the Sultan had already brought it out that by an agreement between England and Egypt, Turkey might easily lose the provinces of Yemen and the Hedjaz, and at the same time the Ottoman Khalifat. The same idea is to be found in an article of the "Fortnightly Review" in which one reads among other things: that the future of Egypt, as an integral part of the British empire, would be of the most brilliant. Egypt could be endowed with a sort of Home Rule Government and occupy a preponderating position among the nations. If Turkey should happen to disappear, Egypt could easily take her place. There is no motive to prevent the Khedive succeeding the Sultan as the head of Islam, although the idea might not at the start appear altogether platonic. Egypt would be the protectress of the Hedjaz and the mistress of Mecca. When one reflects on the effect this would produce on the 94.000.000 of Musselman subjects of Great Britain, to learn that England had become the protectress of Mecca we should think without fail to realize the gigantic dream, shared besides by numerous Egyptians. Egypt could thus regain some of her ancient splendor. Syria and Palestine would return under the domination of the country of the Nile and all Arabia would be annexed to Egypt. The tribes of Yemen, rebels against the Turks would submit — and they are ready for it — to the English if Turkey should fall.

These ideas have not failed to produce their effect on certain elements of the Egyptian people. The Arab paper "El Mokattam", the organ of the British occupation, is constantly recurring to the question of the Khalifat to urge that it return finally to an Arab, the Emir of Mecca or the Khedive. The "Egyptian Gazette", semi-official, in a leading article entilled "Syria and Islam" says that the Musselmans of Syria are beginning to recognize how dangerous it is for their religion and their language to remain allied to the improvident disunited and arrogant Turks. On the other hand they can see how Islam develops itself better under the British flag much more in any case than under the Turkish Musselman domination. England, more than any other colonial power, strictly respects all national traditions and usages. The example of Egypt proves this in a most edifying manner and better than could an army of propagandists, that the Islamic peoples feel contented under English domination. The question has been seriously raised as why the crescent flag of the Khedive should not be raised over the country between Cairo and Damascus.

There remains little to add to this review of the press. Every farseeing Musselman will not fail to understand that a Khalif who cannot maintain himself by the bayonets of his own armed force, would be only the instrument of his protectors who want, once for all, to avert the menace of an Islamic world power.

These quotations from and reflections from the various papers cited should cause all Moslems, but particularly the Musselmans of Indian and others living under British flag to think seriously before following those Mohammedans in Africa and Asia who are lending their services and influence to the English government. One of the most serious dangers to peace and liberty in the world is the way England is striving to get the control of the heads of the world's religions, in order through them to dominate the world's politics and commerce.

In India she has complete domination over the Brahminical people and treats them like slaves. But she fears the Moslems of India, therefore she favors them for the time being in order to keep them on her side against their Hindu fellow-countrymen. She also wishes to detach the Indian and the Moslems of other countries under her flag from their religious

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allegiance to the independent Sultan of the Ottoman Empire and Khalif of Islam, in order to bring the Khalifat under her control, and to use it in her scheme of world conquest. In order to win the people of Egypt and the Khedive over to help her in this game, English writers and papers flatter the Egyptian people and make them fine promises about restornig their ancient glory, and it seems that there are traitors in Egypt ready to sell their country to England, and fools ready to be sold.

This is an old game of England's. When Pope Pius the Ninth died and there was a question of electing an Englishman or American pope to take his place, the Italian Government notified the Vatican that thy might elect a foreigner if they chose, but the government would not allow him to enter Italy or occupy the Holy See. The English government at once saw its opportunity and offered the Island of Malta to be the seat of the Papacy. But the men controlling Vatican affairs were too wise and declined the offer; they did not want to become the tools of England. They have their own game to play.

Now England aims at getting China under her control, and in order to accomplish that is trying to get a footing in Thibet to instal at Lhassa a Grand Lama who will be her instrument over the Bhudhist world. Not many years ago an effort was made at a Pan-Anglican Congress held in England to obtain the recognition by the American Protestant Episcopal Church of the English Archbishop of Canterbury as the head of their church. This was defeated through the independent-energy and protest of the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New-York, the late Dr. Potter. But England never gives up her aims, and what she cannot get one way she will try for in some other way. What she cannot get by hook, she will get by crook, or, in other words, what she dare not use force to obtain she will try to acquire by fraud of some kind, and that is what she is now doing in the case of the Khalifat. She is behind Italy in the attack on Turkey, and is working through it to try and turn the Moslems of Egypt, Syria and Arabia away from the Khalifat at Constantinople to an Anglo-Arabian Khalifat at Mecca or an Anglo-Egyptian Khalifat at Cairo. Of the two, she would prefer her Anglicised Khalifat to be at Mecca, the centre of Islam, but if the Arabs are wise they will reject all offers of England to become its protector and they will withhold all cooperation with foolish and traitorous Egyptians and Syrians who are lendning their help to England.

England, no matter whether under Catholic or Protestant Kings, or under Liberal or Conservative governments even kept faith with any other government or with the people of any country with while she made treaties or conventions. The English collectively or individually are a perfections people; the history of their dealings with India alone proves that. The latest instance of their perfidy is the way they used the negociations with America for an arbitrations Treaty to get out of their obligations to Japan under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance Treaty, after they had used Japan as a stick to beat Russia with and force Russia into an agreement with England about Persia. With such a glaring instance of English treachery to an ally who had rendered immence service to England and paid the cost of it in blood and money before their eyes, how can the Moslems of India, Arabia and Africa suppose that they can derive any benefit from helping the English government to deprive the Ottoman Sultan of the Khalifat and confer it on some English tool at Mecca or Cairo? Surely they cannot be so blind.

And what about the other two countries with millions of Moslem subjects, Russia and France, and the government of China? Supposing that England should succeed in establishing an Anglo-Khalifat at Cairo or Mecca, how long would it be before she began to use it, to stir up intrigue and agitation among the Mussulmans of those countries against their governments? And then, if after England had acquired control of all the Islamic world, and revolt against her economic tyranny and oppression took place, is any one foolish enough to think that there is any English government likely to be in power in England that would not stir up the fanaticism of its Christian subjects against the Moslems?

There is only one thing for Moslems all over the world to do, — that is to refuse to assist in any way to deprive the Ottoman Sultan of the Khalifat of Islam. The freedom of the 94.000.000 of Moslems under the British flag and of the Hindus of India depend on England not obtaining the control of the Khalifat in any form, territorially or through a protectorate, directly or indirectly. Those Moslem leaders who have become the hunting-dogs of England in her game of destraying Islam, in order the better to enslave the Moslem world, financially, commercially and politically, should be rejected by the Mussulmans of India, and as they are the most numerous and powerful of the Moslem communities outside of the Ottoman Empire, they should endeavor in every way to procure the cooperation of the Moslems of other lands to prevent the succes of the English conspiracy for the partition of Turkey and the subjugation of the whole Islamic world under British domination. The eventual freedom and independence of India, indeed of all Asia, depend on the defeat of this conspiracy.

The following from The Investor's Revieuw and the other from The Times of India are interesting readings from all the different points of view and such a cry from unexpected quarters about the villany of The English against Hindoosthan.

THE FAILURE OF THE INDIAN LOAN.

Were our statesmen at all teachable in matters of finance they might be warned by what has happened to the latest issue of Indian Government 3½ percents. It was offered at the remarkably low price of 93, and probably at that figure would net the Simla Government 91½ at most, because the loan was underwritten. The security cannot be questioned as long as our Empire of India holdstogether — at least, we hope it cannot be.

Nevertheless, the underwriters had to take up 87½ percent of the issue, and it went at once to about ¾ percent discount. Underwriters, that is to say, were willing to sacrifice almost the whole of their commission in order to get quit of their liability. Looking back, we find that within the past five years, and including this new issue £ 30,500,000 of India 3½ percent, stock has been put upon the market, and the lowest previous figure at which any of it was offered was 96 in March last year. In January 1908, £ 5,000,000, of it was put out at 99. In February 1909 £ 7,500,000 at 97½, and in January 1910, another £ 7,500,000 was sold at 96½. Going back farther still, we see that in 1898 and 1899 the price of this 3½ percent stock fluctuated between 105 and 118, the lowest figure being product in 1899, on the outbreak of the Boer Wor. Before that disaster India 3½ percent stock rarely came near 110 and the 3 percent stock was almost always above par.

It was as high as 108 in 1899. What inference can we draw from facts like these except one? India is being financed to death, and the reluctance or inability of the London Market to absorb its loans ought to warn Indian bureaucrats and home alike that it is time for them to pause in their mad career of progress by mortgage. But will they? INVESTOR'S REVIEW.

Bombay Times of India, 20st April 1912.

India Office Finance.

Mr. M. P. de Webb writes from Karachi.

In my letters to you of last week I drew attention to the fact that the secretary of state had trasferred from India to London vast sums of money running into many millions sterling for which he had no immediate need or requirement; that as a result of these novel financial transactions he had lent out to "approved borrowers" in London (sometimes without security) over £ 13,000,000 at rates approximating 2½ per cent, per annum; that this was a double loss to the Indian taxpayer, that India ought never to have been so taxed as to yield these colossal cash surpluses; and further, if, in spite of every care in budgetting the surpluses appeared, then the money ought to have been used for cancelling debt or lent out in India, not transferred to London, because in India it could easily have commanded interest at the rate of 3, 3½, or even 4

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per cent per annum. In such extraordinary and irregular circumstances as the above, it would hardly be imagined possible that the secretary of state would have had to borrow money in London.

Yet, in reponse to a question in the Imperial Legislatine Council in Calcutta on the 22nd. ultimo as to how much floating debt had been issued during the past financial year, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson replied. No new floating dept was issued during 1911-'12, although £ 4,500,000 of bills were renewed. The amount of debt repaid was £ 500,000."

Has any Government department in the world ever conducted its business like the Financial committee of the India Office? With one hand it lends out £ 13,000,000 at 2½ percent per annum and with the other it borrows £ 4,500,000 of its own money, in effect at a shade over 3 percent. What is the explanation?

A Grave Warning.

MONEY SAVED IS MONEY EARNED.

Dear Brothers,

Would you ever like to offer yourselves to be robbed? And yet it breaks our heart to see that you should unconsciously and unwillingly commit your savings of your own accord to the custody of robbers!

For, those of you who have blindly invested their money in the most insecure "securities" of the Government of India have been really duped by false promises and hollow words into a robber's custody. Open your eyes and think of these facts:

First, the promisory notes of the Rupee Loans are mere promises of repayment *at the option* of the Governor General of India for, the wording of the promise is to the effect that you cannot demand the money unless and until the Government chooses to repay. So repayment "on demand" means repayment at borrower's convenience.

Secondly, the Indian Government offres your interest 3 or 31/2 % while the Government issues of Japan, China and vield 5 % per annum on an averge.

Thirdly, how Indian ivestors have suffered by placing their money in Government securities can be best seen by comparing the price of the three and a half per cent Rupee Loans which was 110⅞ in 1896, with the present quotation of about 96, it having been as low as 92 1/8 in 1899: Thus the investor, while receiving the total amount of interest, namely 10½ %, during the three years between 1896 and 1899 for every 100 rupees invested by him, saw his capital shrink to the extent of 18 3/4 %.

Again, there is a law in England wich does not allow any trustee to buy any Government papers of India though the papers of any other Government including that of Russia are allowed to be bought. Why this distinction? Obviously because, the Indian Government security is a regular burglary while even the Russian Government has after all a National credit.

Again the Home Government at London is not made responsible for Indian Loans, but in the case of Loans of Australia, Canada &c. the English Government is made reponsible.

All these and many other reasons will convince you that the investment is not only a losing concern but that there can be nothing more insecure than this Government Security!

But the aspect becomes enormously more darkening when we see the prospect of an Indian Revolution. If a Revolution does arise and sweeps away the hated power of the Firangee from India, is it not true that all those who have the Government Securities will be left utterly ruined as bankrupt? It is not only an imaginary fear that you will be thrown overboard by your security granting Goverment in either case-of a defeated or a succesful revolutionary attempt. Look at the history of 1857. In that war of Independence when the English Power was well nigh dead and those who had lent them money came to demand it, *not a single pie was returned to them!* And when the English power was reestablished, even then the Government swallowed millions and croses of rupees by the simple strategy of declaring the Government creditors to be rebels! So then whether England suceeds or not in defeating the Revolution your Government Securities are secure of only the waste papers of the notes!

But you will say that this latter danger rests on the assumption of the inpossible hypothesis of a Revolution. Impossible? can they lift up the Himalayas? can they dry up the seas? If they can do that, even then they cannot render the Revolution impossible! It is ordained from on High and in the name of God and Hindusthan we are determined to *create* a Revolution — whatever its consequences may be — and whether you will it or not.

Revolution is sure to be. You have only one alternative, and that is to recognise its inevitable issue, to hurry to the market — to sell the promisory notes if you have any — if you have none, then to make it a point never to buy one. Try to sell it in foreign markets while it has some credit left; and hence forward instead of pouring your money into the bottomless pit of burglary you would do well to invest the same in Swadeshi enterprises in buying the Government papers of Japan America Germany etc., in thousand and one things which will insure you higher profits and better security.

And yet it is not only a question of saving your pockets. It is essentially a question of saving your conscience. For it is you who are pampering the butcher's hand that cuts the throat of Mother Hind: Out of 115 crores of Government Bonds 106 crores are held by the Indians themselves! Thus pampered, the tyrant is trampling your Mother under the iron heel of plagues, and famines, of disgrace and despotism: Of the blackest dye a sinner is he who helps and feeds and fattens the Firangee Tyrant to violate Mother Hind!

To avoid this heinous and unpatriotic sin and to save the dearest Hind, repent! Repent, Dear Brothers! for this and for your own individual sellish interests — do immediately sell the promisory notes, realise cash and do never buy a new one by lending money to the hated foe. Or persisting in the self ruinous course be robbed, ruined, and disgraced in this world and go down to a traitors's doom in the next!

(The above warning was written by a patriotic camrade and coworker some years ago, and it is timely to publish it afresh.
BANDE MATARAM.)

Long Live The Persian Women!

"The strangling of Persia" is the name of a book which Mr. Shuster is writing. However "The Century Magazine" has already published a chapter out of the book, as regards to the doings of The Persian Women at the time of the revolution, and again at the crisis about dismissing Mr. Shuster from Teheran!

I like to know, what orient; whether man or woman will not feel proud for these brave and patriotic Persian Women? Mr. Shuster writes "It was the women of Persia who from their cloistered lives, with the patriotic support of The Islamic priests, fomented the national movement in Persia, for adoption of The Constitutional form of Government, and for the inculcation of Western political, commercial and ethical codes". He says further that at the time when Russia demanded his dismissal, a deputation of three hundred Persian women were sent by their Persian sisters to The National Assembly (mudjlis) and these cloistered Persian mothers; wives, and daugthers; actually showed their revolvers to The Mudjlis, tore aside their veils; and told it, that they were quite decided to kill their own husbands, and sons and add their own dead bodies to the sacrifice, if The Deputies waver in their duty to uphold the liberty and dignity of Persia!

BHIKHAIJI RUSTOM CAMA.

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THE

Bande Mataram

Monthly Organ of Indian Independence.

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.
(Gautama Buddha).

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A CALL OF DUTY. — We must remind our readers that though this journal is „prohibited" in Hindusthan, a very large number of copies nevertheless find their way into the homes of our countrymen, by whom it is much appreciated. We have frequently pointed out that the importation of all forms of revolutionary literature is a sacred duty incumbent upon every man and woman who is devoted to the cause of our country's independence. And we therefore request our readers to use every possible means that their ingenuity can devise to ensure the succesful smuggling of this and subsequent issues of this journal into our country.

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar.

Two years ago, on the 8th of July 1910, Deshbhakta Savarkar escaped from the English steamer in the docks of Marseilles, and he ought to have been a free man, on his landing on the French soil according to all laws on Political Refugees! But, through the weakness of The French Government and the intrigues and dishonesty of the English, he was handed back to his political enemies and a comedy was played by the Hague Tribunal as a final scene of this sad and shameful business! What life he and other Deshbhaktas are living on The Andaman Islands can be understood from the following statement published by *„The Bengalee"* of 27 April 1912.

Political Prisoners in India.

Their Treatment in the Andamans.

During the first two years they (the political prisoners) were in jail. In jail there are various kinds of work to do, the most difficult being the oil-mil, whether by hand or by foot. The latter means that four men are tied to the mill and have to go round and round a centre post just as bullocks do. They have to press out 30 lb. of oil during the day. This is oil-mill work by foot. In the oil-mill work by hand you have to turn a handle round and round during the whole day, and thus press out about 30 lb. of oil.

Chopping Cocoanut bark is another species of work. One gets a huge log of wood, about half a maund in weight, and a wooden mallet about 4 lb. in weight. These things the prisoner gets in his cell. Then he has to place strips of cocoanut upon the wood block and go on striking them with the mallet. In this way a sort of fine dust is pressed out of the cocoanut strips. and only a fibrous substance remains; about 2 lb. or 1½ lb. of this fibrous substance the prisoner has to press out in the course of the day.

Ropemaking is the lightest work one gets in jail. About 3 lb. of cocoanut flax is given to the prisoner and he has to spin it into rope according to sample. There is another kind of work still. There is a kind of brood-based thorny plant called the *ramkhan*. The prisoner is given about eighty or ninety of these leaves, and out of these he has to beat up 4 lb. of white flay. The leaves are about 2 inches, in thickness and from a cubit to two cubits in length. If even a drop of its juice touches the body it begins to itch and ultimately produces a kind of sore.

The political prisoners were comparatively well off at first. They made ropes or were put to chopping cocaunut bark. But

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Mr. Denham put them to the oil-mill, and since then they have had either to work at the oil-mill or beat up 2 lb. of flax from the cocoanut bark.

The regulation about punishment for short work is handcuffs for seven days for the first offence; for the second offence a week's handcuffs and four days'ganji. For the next offence the punishment was fetters for a month or two, then cross-bar for ten days, and for further repetition of the offence—fetters for six months or so and solitary-confinement. Ganji is a kind of starvation diet. You put two chittacks (3 ounces) of rice in a seer (2 lb.) of water, and the gruel thus obtained is called ganji. The cross-bar is a more rigorous kind of fetters. It consists of rings for the two legs joined by a bar of iron.

All these penalties were inflicted upon the Punjabee political prisoners, barring only the last; but still they would not submit to this sort of labour. Of course, as they were political prisoners they could not be whipped, and thus a new penalty was invented for their special benefit. This was ganji (starvation diet) for twelve days. First Nanda Gopal got it, then Ullaskar, and last of all Hotilal. But all this would not do, and then the jail people climbed down, and they were all set to ropemaking.

The work outside jail is stil more dreadful. Among such work may be mentioned felling large trees and piling them up in a large heap; running about with heavy lumps of clay and handing them to workmen; laying 1,200 bricks in the day or hoeing a plot of tea-land 40 yards by 4 yards in area; and all this one has to do in all sorts of weather—in heavy rain as well as in the fierce heat of the sun. Besides, you have mosquitoes trhoughout the night, numberless leeches in the low-lying ground, and a sort of poisonous fly.

The Indian Jail Code, it should be noted, recognises no class of prisoners as first-class misdemeanants. Those who are punished under the Penal Code are all sent to the criminal jail, and, according to the sentence, are subjected to rigorous or simple imprisonment. Those who are ordered simple imprisonment are relieved of all work. They can spend their time in any way they like, subject, of course, to the necessary restraints of prison discipline. This is the only distinction between prisoners in the criminal jail recognised by the Indian Codes. The result is that, when a person is convicted of any political offence under the Penal Code and is punished with rigorous imprisonment he is treated like a common felon, and no distinction is observed between him and the thief and the murderer."

After the above article appeared in „*The Bengalee*" there came the news, that Inda Bhushan Roy; one of the political prisoners in the Alipore Case, undergoing his sentance of transportation in the penal settlement in the Andaman Islands has committed suicide.

The Chinese Republic.

When only a few months ago the Chinese people decided that the time had come when they must rid themselves of the Mandchu rule under which their country was threatened with disintegration through its corruption and imbecility, they adopted the Republican form of government as the best adopted to ensure individual freedom with national union and progress. They were fortunate in having as their leaders men who had studied and travelled in other countries. and so had opportunity to see and judge for themselves of the value of the political institutions prevailling in those countries. These men had learned that the form or title of the system of government existing anywhere was of less consequence in its material results than the spirit in which its institutions were administered. At the same time they did not fail to observe that the presence of a monarch arounp whom guthered sycophants, courtiers and parasites of all kinds, as hereditary or permanent head of the State, could not fail to work prejudice in the long run to the spirit of independence and self-reliance in the people.

The outcome of these observations was, as we have seen, the formation of a mass of public opinion among the Chinese people favorable to the acceptance by them of the principle of republicanism and the proclamation of the Chinese Republic. The transition from Manchu imperialism to the new conditions was comparatively easy for so detested were the Manchu sovereign Princes and functionaris that at the supreme moment thy were left without followers and stripped of a great part of their wealth, and the Chinese people entered into possession of their own. The resistance which the partizans of the deposed dynasty put up against the revolution which freed China from its rule was overcome after some bloodshed, and if at the present moment some disorder takes place, it is found to be the work of foreign intriguers or obstinate partizans of the dethroned dynasty with which the Republican authorities are quite competent to deal. The danger to China does not lie within it borders; it is from outside.

No sooner had the Chinese Republic been proclaimed than the British and Russian robbers of Chinese teritory started at once to detach large areas from the outlying provinces of the former empire under various protexst. At the same time a horde of financial vultures under the auspices of the English, French and American governments who were forming a league for world-robbery under the cloak of arbitration for peace, descended upon China with offers of loans by means of which they intended to obtain control of its government and finance. But the German government which has commercial and other interests in China, broke in on this combination which was particularly directed against Germany and demanded an equal participation in whatever transactions the Chinese Republican government might enter into with foreign financiers. Unwilling as they were to permit Germany to enter the combination, they were forced to recognize the equity of her demand and the triple financial alliance became a quadruple combination. But the transformation of the original three powers loan league into the four power association was speedily followed by the demand of the Russian and Japanese governments for an equal participation with the others which raised the four power league to a six power force and now Austria and Italy have appeared on the scene in a way that threatens to break up the whole scheme of the financiers to turn China into another Egypt but on a more colossal scale.

The original object of the triple combination of England, France and America was by means of the financial obligations it intended to impose on China, to bring about the virtual closing of the Open Door of Chinese trade and enterprise to other countries. This intention was concealed, but in China it is recognized that the real issue, which has been obscured by the chicanery of finance and the juggling of the European and American press in its interests, is that of the Open Door. The financial combination that had enlisted the English, French and American governments in its service has been determined on closing the door against all monetary assistance to China except that coming from itself, and so securing the absolute control of China's resources to the exclusion of every other country. What they intended was the financial servitude of China and its ultimate partition into three spheres of influence with territorial control — whether the American Senate knew it or not when they rejected the Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty last month, they upset a great conspiracy against the integrity, independence and freedom of the Chinese Republic and people.

Much injury has already been worked in China and its progress retarted by the operations of that conspiracy. The time, energy and ability which men like Yuan-Shik-K'ai, T'jang Shao-yi, Wu Ting-fang, Sim Yat-sen, have had to sacrifice in combatting and defeating this insidious attempt to destroy the Chinese Republic could much better have been given to promoting its progress. The resignations and changes of Ministers give an appearance of instability to the government and are liable to create mistrust among the friends of China in other countries. It gives the press subsidized by the conspirators opportunity to describe the government of the Republic as unstable and to caese public opinion to favor the establishment of a condition of stability such as comes with the foreign

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agents of great financial institutions installed in the custom houses and Ministry of Finance protected by the soldiers and ships of war of the foreign governments backing them up.

So far the men at the head of Chinese affairs have been successful in warding off the immediate danger, but the risk remains. Whai is needed is that China should receive the support of all the other peoples of Asia. Some can give it directly; others only indirectly. It has been learned that throughout the Malay Stales and the Dutch and Portugese and American Islands in the Eastern seas the principle of an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine is being promulgated and accepted by their inhabitants — Asia for the Asiatics is the impulse behind it, and whether the people who hold to it are under the flag of some European country or that of Amerika they cannot give it better effect than by aiding in every way, morally and materially, the Chinese people to keep the flag of a free and independent Chinese Republic flying over them. If ever India is to attain to freedom and independent it will be due to the existence of the Chinese Republic, and no country in Asia has a more vital interest in its preservation and progress than the people of India.

To them, therefore, the *Bande Mataram* appeals with all its force to hold such an attitude towards their British tyrants that they will, from very fear, refrain from attacks on the integrity of China and the government of the Republic. This appeal is made alike to the suffering *rayats* of India and to those Princes of Hindustan who are not entirely sunk in servility to the foreign Raj. Their own future as free men and their rise from the position of cringing slaves depends on the continuance of the Chinese Republic.

BANDE MATARAM.

The following Life Sketch of Dr. Sun Yat Sen was written out for Bande Mataram by a Deshbandhu some months ago; but owing to want of space. I could not publish it for a long time.

"The adventures that have befallen Sun Yat Sen in his crusade for Chinese liberty are such as few men ever encountered and fewer still survived. He has gone through the length and breadth of China disguised as a pedlar or a Japanese trader; he has lived hidden in canal boats or fishermen's cabins; he has been let down over city walls by night; he has had to fly from Canton to Hong Kong and from Hong Kong to Honolulu; he has sought asylum in Japan and America and England, and even there his life has been little more secure than in his native land."

Let us hope that his life and work will be studied by the young workers of Hindoosthan's Independance.

As Swami Vivek Ananda has said: "He who thinks himself weak is weak. He who believes he is strong is already invincible."

BHIKHAIJI RUSTOM CAMA.

* * *

The remarkable personality of Sun Yat Sen is the centre of the revolutionary movement in China. He was born about forty years ago in Sianchan situated in the province of Canton His parents were farmers and naturally he too began his life as a farmer, but he found the work rather hard and tedious and not very paying, so he left it and got himself employed by a tradesman. Ultimately he became his own master.

He devoted his lisure hours to the study of English and the Chinese alphabets of which he was ignorant. Within a few years he could manage to lay by a sum of ten thousand dollars and by this time he could speak English well. He left Canton for Hong Kong where he began learning medicine in the company of an European doctor. After finishing his medical studies he went to Macao and opened a dispensary there. He never took any money from his poor patients but charged high fees from the rich ones. His reputation had meanwhile been so great that he was elected as the president of Chieun Tchoung Houé "Society of the progress of China".

The misfortunes of China impressed on him so deeply and sadly that he gave up his profession and made up his mind to devote his energy to the sacred cause of the freedom of his motherland. During the Chino-Japanese war he thought of starting a revolution and for this purpose he bought arms and amunitions and fixed Canton as the centre for the revolutionary movement. But the Pekin Government came to know about his designs and sent troops to arrest him. He escaped to Macao and thence to Hong Kong where he got rid of his pig-tail and took to European style of dressing. Being followed and harassed, he sailed for Java, then for America and London. The Chinese legation made representations to the British authorities to get him arrested in England but in vain. On the 11th October 1896 while he was passing by Portland Place on a visit to his friends, he was accosted by two of his compatriots, who insisted that he must follow them. This he refused to do. These two Chinese pusthed him forcibly in side the house of their legation and made him a prisoner. He was to be sent to China secretly and it was said that a boat was chartered to carry him. He was however able to send a message to his intime friend Dr. Cantlie by conceating a letter in the coal scuttle. Dr Cantlie immediately approached Lord Salesbury who lost no time to demand the liberation of Sun Yat Sen from the Chinese minister, who had to release our hero without any delay. Sun Yat Sen has himself related this episode in a leaftet called "Kid napped in London", which was distributed in all the towns of South China. He then returned to China and worked incessantly from town to town. He used to send orders and instructions to the secret societies of "Triade" in order to advance his cause and increase his followers, now from Hong Kong, then from Shangai, again from Japan and often even from the towns of Indo-China.

In 1904 he issued his famous pamphlet called "The true solution of the Chinese question". In this brochure he has explaind and justified why every Chinaman anxious for the future of his country should nourish hatred towards the Mandchous government. He has also shown that the colonial expansion of the western nations is economic fatality. The programme set forth by Sun Yat Sen in this work is as follows.

"People must be allowed to govern themselves but in order to arrive at the establishment of the Chinese Republic, the revolution is necessary—it does not mather even if it is sanguinary. The Mandchous usurpers of the Chinese throne, have rendered China more and more ignorant. They have robbed the people of their wealth and made them their slaves—nay worse than beasts of burden. They have forced men to wear pig-tails and women to twist their feet like goats in order to make them resemble these animals. The Chinese fill up the prisons where Mandchous ought to have been kept. Wereas the foreign nations are marching forward in the path of progress, we are becoming weaker and weaker every day and at last we are on the point of total disappearance.

"It is impossible for me to remain indifferent to all these wrongs inflicted on my country. I shall do all I can to deliver her from their hands. The opportunuty has not yet arrived, but we shall soon create it."

"It is said that Republic is not the form of government that will suit the Chinese. Well it is just the contrary. A Chinaman was always a republican. What was China in old days if not a republic formed by all the provinces?

Ever at present this is the case if you go to the interior of the country where the notables and old men in villages are administering justice, settlering the disputes and managing the administrative work without the government representative who is avoided and shunned by every body.

Republic is the salvation of China Uptil now we took interests in the affairs of our villages only, but we must watch the welfare of all the provinces put together — i e — our motherland."

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It was the troubles that gave the throne of China to Mandchous and it will be through troubles that we shall drive them away. China must not be a dish for the palate of every body.

China for the Chinese, she must be so for the hononr of the yellow race.

Our aim is to build up Asiatic Republic that will face boldly Europe. The best amongst us should be elected as our leader."

THE KO-MINGTANG.

This was the name given to the new party organised by Sun Yat Sen for the sake of strengthening his ideas and giving them practical turn in all open towns of China. The members of this society worked as intermediaries between leaders of the revolutionaries, who enroled the adherents of the secret societies and increase the numbers for the revolutionary army, and the economic and charitable associations who collected and guaranteed the subsidies necessary for the success of the enterprise.

The Ko-mingtangs kept their arms and amunitions in safe places, some of them entered the government service holding high posts in the administration and thus more amongst the official cerles in order to watch the mandarins, to fathom the public opinion. They communicated all the information to their leaders who in their turn never lost an opportunity of intervention in the public affairs by patriotic demonstrations or insurrections as suited the occasions.

Sun Yat Sen made a speech of great political importance before 5000 people on the 16th January 1907 in Tokio on the occasion of the anniversary of the Ming-pao, first revolutionary journal published in the Chinese language. This speech was the further development of his programme mentioned above. On account of this lecture the Japanese government expelled him out of Japan to please the Pekin government.

In spite of the watchful pursuit of the authorities, Sun Yat Sen was a man never to be caught. When he was supected to be in Hong Kong, one saw his instructions from Singapour. When he was surely to be entrapped in Shanghai, he revealed himself in Indo-China.

During the revolt of the spring in 1907, he addressed a stirring proclomation from Hong Kong to General Sino the commander-in-chief of the troops of Ko-mingtangs in order to excite his followers against the detested dynasty. At the same time he recommended the commander to give orders to his soldiers not to ruin the people, not to commit crimes and to allow the artisans tradesmen and farmers to continue their work, especially to respect the life and property of the Europeans, so that the foreigners could find no excuse for their intervention.

In 1908 Sun Yat Sen was at the head of the revolutionaries of Yunnan, and service then he had been working for the establishment of the Chinese Republic, and the final part played by him is wellknown to all.

The British are hated all round.

The so called popularity and benefit of the British Rule and influence in India, Egypt and Strait Settlements is a myth, is proved by the three simultaneous attacks on British officials lives in three different places in the beginning of last month.

Also the following Reuter's telegram from Calcutta proves that the visit of George of England to pacify. The National movement in Hindoosthan has falled entirely and that the shifting of the British capital from Calcutta to Delhi is just planned out to escape the wrath of the Bengalees. In the same way the talk of the exhaustion of the Egyptian Nationalists is a fiction, because the brave Kitchener has found them too much alive and active and he runs away from Cairo; by advancing the hour of his departure.

BAHIKHAIJI RUSTOM CAMA.

SUPPOSED CONSPIRACY.

Police Theory of an Attempt on Governor of Bengal.

CALCUTTA, Thursday.

An attempt which was made last Monday on the Darjiling line to throw a train, in which Lord Carmichael, the Governor of Bengal, was travelling, off the rails was at first considered to be trivial, but the affair is now considered by the police to have been the outcome of a deliberate conspiracy.

Two Calcutta Bengalis and three others are under suspicion in connection with the incident. — *Reuter.*

Daily News.

July 5th.

CHINAMAN SHOOTS AT A GOVERNOR.

Bullet Just Misses Sir F. May At Hong Kong.

(From Our Own Correspondent).

HONG KONG, Thursday.

The landing here to-day of Sir Francis May, the new Governor, to take up his duties, was the occasion of an attempt on his life, which fortunately proved abortive.

A Chinaman aushed from the crowd of spectators and fired a revelver at Sir Francis. The bullet missed him by an inch, and lodged in the hood of Lady May's chair.

The would-be assassin was promptly arrested.

He proved to be a Cantonese, 24 years of age, and the son of a formor Hong Kong Chinese constable. After his arrest he declared that it was his determination to assassinate Sir Francis May owing to his detestation of the British.

July 5th. *Daily News.*

ATTACK ON A GOVERNOR.

Documents Reveal Conspiracy by Canton Society.

HONG KONG, Friday.

Li Hon Hung, the Chinaman who shot at the Governor yesterday, was charged before the magistrate with shooting at Sir Francis May with intent to kill, which is equivalet to attempted murder. The prisoner, who was not defended, pleaded guilty. The Assistant Crown Solicitor, who prosecuted, asked for a remand until Monday, wich was granted.

Snapshots taken by spectators of the outrage yesterday disclosed the presence of an accomplice, also armed with a revolver. It is reported that this man, who was arrested last night, was in possession of incriminating documentary evidence.

Examination of the documents found on Li Hon Hung's accomqlice has disclosed the fact that both men were well financed by the Canton Triad Society, the directors of which had enjoined the assassissination of Sir Francis May or Mr. Claud Severn, the Colonial Secretary.

In a report prepared by the accomplice for dispatch to Canton, also fouud on his person, he expressed regret that the attempt had failed.-Renter. July 5th.

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THE

Bande Mataram

Monthly Organ of Indian Independence.

„Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye guides unto yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Work out your liberation with diligence.
(Gautama Buddha).

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All communications should be addressed to Mme CAMA, 25, Rue de Ponthieu, Champs Elysées, Paris (France).

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BANDE MÂTARAM

AUGUST 17th 1912
TO
THE SACRED AND INSPIRING MEMORY OF THE PATRIOT
MADAN LAL DHINGRA
WHO DIED FOR HIS COUNTRY
AUGUST 17th 1909

"I AM PROUD TO HAVE THE HONOUR TO LAY DOWN MY HUMBLE LIFE FOR MY COUNTRY".

I admit that the other day I attempted to shed English blood as a humble revenge for the inhuman hangings and deportations of patriotic Indian youths.

In this attempt I have consulted none but my own conscience, I have conspired with none but my own duty.

I believe that a nation held down by foreign bayonets is in a perpetual state of war. Since open battle is rendered impossible to a disarmed race I attacked by surprise, since guns were denied to me I drew forth my pistol and fired.

As a Hindoo I feel that wrong to my country is an insult to God. Her cause is the cause of Shri Ram, Her service is the service of Shri Krishna. Poor in wealth and intellect a son like myself has nothing else to offer to the Mother but his own blood and so I have sacrificed the same on Her altar.

The only lesson required in India at present is to learn how to die and the only way to teach it is by dying ourselves; therefore I die and glory in my Martyrdom.

This war will continue between India and England so long as Hindee and English races last (if this present unnatural relation does not cease).

My only prayer to God is that I may be reborn of the same Mother and I may redie in the same sacred Cause till the Cause is succesful and She stands free for the good of Humanity and to the glory of God.

MADAN LAL DHINGRA.

As in Russia, so in Hindoosthan, Persia and Egypt.

Freedom calls for Exceptional Measures.

Since certain facts concerning the treatment of political prisoners in the penal settlement of the Andamand Islands were published in "The Bengali" of Calcutta, there came the news that at the end of April, a Bengali political prisoner Deshbhakata Indu Bhusan Roy committed suicide! Of course the Jail outhority of the Andamand Islands, gave as the cause of his suicide, some cock and bull story but truth leaks out anyhow.

Young Indo Bhusan Roy was given the work of making flour out of the rambash plant, and his hands were so badly blistered with it, that he suffered intense pain, and could not even touch his food He applead to the Jailor, for change of work, but the heartless man refused to listen to him, and charged him, that he wanted to get into the hospital on false pretences, and gavehim the still harder work of moving the oilmill. The poor boy was found next morning hanging in his cell! His fellow prisoner Deshbhakata Hotilal Varma, most courageously lodged a complaint, against the Jailor to the medical officer of the Jail, on behalf of his dead comrade, but he himself was severely punished by the brutal authority, and the supreme Government of India is giving a deaf ear to all this crulties, under whose direct administration are the Andamand Islands.

How they celebrated last New Year's Day in Tabrinz.

"Egypt" of August 1912 publishes a letter written to its editor by professor Edward G. Browne of Cambridge. There are also three photographs published; enclosed by professor Browne along with the letter, under the heading of "The Russian Atrocities in Tabrinz". The first two photographs show eight brave and enlightened Persian Nationalists hanging from the gallows, including the venerable Sikatul-Islam, hanged downwards. The third photograph shows half the body of Yusuf Mukmabad, who is said to have been cut in two by the order of Samad Khan, who is an ardent reactionary and partisan of the ex-Shah!

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Samad Khan was recognised by The Russian as de facts Governor of Tabrinz, and The British Consul at Tabrinz recommended his appointment as the Governor of the town, and telegraphed to the British Minister at Tehran that it was in every way desirable to recognise him as Governor-General, as he was popular and possessed influence among nomads".

On 29st November 1908 in Tabrinz the forces of Mahamad Ali The Monster, including Colonel Liakhoff's Cossacks were defeated and routed out; by the revolutionary leader Satarkhan and his brave followers, and among the dead revolutionaries, were discovered the bodies of 67 women disguised as men.

BHIKHAIJI RUSTOM CAMA.

The Egyptian Patriots.

Lord Kitchener's Peril.

Heavy sentences on Cairo Plotters.

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.

CAIRO, Tuesday.

The trial of the three Egyptians arrested for plotting to assassinate the Khedive, Lord Kitchener, and the Premier, was concluded to-day.

Imman Wakid was sentenced to fifteen years hard labour, and Mahomad Salen and Taher El Arabi each to fifteen years imprisonment.

Wakid is considered by the prosecution to have been the chief instigator of the conspiracy. Arabi, who went to the station at Cairo to assassinate Lord Kitchener, but whose courage failed at the last minute, is only eighteen years old. The other two prisoners were several years older. *(Daily Mail 14th August)*

The Revolutionary Movement in the Russian Navy.

Sixteen seamen and a petty officer were arrested in connection with an alleged plot on the Russian battleship Ioann Zlataoust at Sebastopol. Four of the seventeen were shot, and ten others have been sentenced to death. It is said that the plot, which has thus been so tragically frustrated, was of a much more daring character than that which culminated in the mutiny on the Kniaz Potemkin in June, 1905. The intention of the latest conspirators was to have captured te Imperial yacht, Standart, when the Czar and family were on board; make the Czar a prisoner, and compel him either to abdicate or to surrender his autocratic powers. At the same time, he was to have proclaimed a limited monarchy and a really constitutional régime. The capture of the Czar was to have been the signal for a mutiny of the crews of the Baltic squadron; the arrest or execution of their officers, and a simultaneous attack on Cronstadt and St. Petersburg. Unfortunately this thorough-going revolutionary programme was discovered and its realisation prevented. In itself, however, it indicates the existence of a strong revolutionary movement in the Russian navy which cannot but be a menace to the existing régime. It is well known that very considerable disaffection exists in the Russian navy, and the strictest orders have been issued to officers of all grades forbidding them, under pain of degradation and dismissal, to discuss the question of this disaffection with any outside persons and civilians, or even with their wives. Thus despotism once more nourishes its antidote—revolution - by the old, idiotic process of sitting on the safety-valve and driving discontent beneath the surface. *(Justice, 17th August)*

An OPEN LETTER of the Indian nationalist Party to his Majesty the Amir of Afghanisthan.

To His Majesty the Amir of Afghanisthan,

SIR,

We had learnt to look upon your Majesty with respect and esteem; while your state visit to Hindusthan, during which time you exhibited the wisdom and consideration that we expect of great sovereigns, has endeared you to us and has increased our respect and esteem for you. We belong to that increasing body of men in Hindusthan whose object is not merely to free Hindusthan from the yoke of England, but to see that the continent of Asia gets back its ancient rôle of civillizer of the world. We desire to address to your Majesty a few words about the common duty of all the sons of Asia among whom you occupy so prominent a place, and request you to consider them deeply, and hope that they will meet with Your Majesty's unqualified approval.

You are one of those few potentates in whose hands lie the future destinies of our great continent. Your responsibilities are in strict proportion to the power that you posses. Our continent is passing through a very critical period of its exidence. To speak only of those events, which your action in the future will directly influence, there is first the Turkish-Italian war consequent on a pirate power of Europe having without the slightest provocation occupied the distant province of the Turkish empire. Turkey is carrying on the war with courage and determination, but she is greatly handicapped owing to the want of an effective navy. Then again there is the partition of Persia between the two greatest robber powers of the world, Russia and England. That unfortunate country desired to put her house in order, established a constitution and was on a fair way to settle her affairs amicably when the two vultures once forgot their animosities, made a common cause, and pou upon her mercilessly. The wedge is being driven even befor very eyes and every day sends it home deeper into the hea Persia.

Last of all there is the Indo-Asiatic railway that is to pass through Persia and Beluchistan and connect Hindusthan the pivot of Asia with Europe. All these events are part of a great plan to enslave the whole of western and central Asia. There is no use closing our eyes to this fact. And the last two events that we have mention are nothing but preludes to the Conquest of Afghanisten itself by England. England's great ambition for the last fifty years is to possess herself of Afghanistan and convert the Afghans into her slaves. Her two direct attacks on Afghanistan were miserable failures no doubt, but she has not given up her idea at all. Seeing that by force she could not succeed, she the cunning fox that she is, had recourse to diplomacy. She struck a bargain with Russia and concluded a treaty with that fellowrobber, and slighly introduced in a clause by which your position as an independent sovereign was absolutely compromised. You and your counsellers have shown the greatest wisdom in refusing to countersign that treaty which means nothing but wearing the chains forged for your country by unscrupulous England. Foiled in this attempt again, she is now endeavouring to isolate you and shut you up in Afghanistan while she is slowly absorbing the independent territories all around you. Her action with regard to your country is like that of a general establishing parallels about a besiegsd fortress. Beluchistan has been made a British province. Mesopotamia and the countries on the banks of the Amu Daria are becoming absorbed. The frontier tribes to the east of your country are being helped with rifles and money and encouraged to enter into your territory and flout your authority. With the South of Persia in her hands and the Indo-Pers an railway an accomplished fact England's next step would be to lead a formidable army of Indian mercenaries against you and either extinguish your dynasty or reduce you to the level of the Rajas of Indore or Gwaliar!

Sire, that is the deliberated plan of England in regard to Afghanistan and generally towards the countries of western Asia. Believe not her words at all when she speaks of peace and good will, friendship and treaty-obligations with regards to your country. All these words would be but empty sounds when she shall believe herself to be able to advance on Kabul and dictate her terms to you. Therefore, Sir, exert yourselves in time. The interests of your dynasty and your country, no less than those of Islam, and of the vast continent of Asia demand that you should exert yourself and at once to combat the machinations of the twin-robbers England and Russia.

Your first duty is to go to the help of Persia. The fall of Persia to-day means the fall of Afghanistan to-morrow. The Chancelleries

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of Europe are wondering why you have been doing nothing when your enemies are digging a grave for you in Persia. The occupation of Korea and Manchuria by Russia was not more dangerous to Japan than the partition of Persia between England and Russia to you. And yet see what Japan did. To wait till onesself is directly attacked while ones' enemies are attacking a neighbouring power is the worst policy that a nation can pursue. This was the fatal policy pursued by the princes of Hindusthan the Nizam and Haidar, the Mahrattas and the Mogol, and with what result the whole world knows. The powers that desire to partition Persia, would they stick at partitioning your country? They would be stronger after the partitiou than now and they would not be more honest. You might think of your friendship with both of those powers. But up to now they were no less the friends of Persia and yet this is the way in wich they demonstrate that friendship! Place not the slightest faith in their friendships or alliances. They are mere ruses tn the inevitable struggle between them and you. So take up your arms and cry halt to the robbers in their advance on Persia. Forget your religious animosities if you have any. You are a Sunni and Persia is Shiah. But what is England and what is Russia? Persia believes in your Allah and in your Prophet. But England and Russia despises them! Gold is their God and robbery is their profession. Muhammad is to them both an unregenerate barbarian whose posthumous influence stands in the way of their conquering the Asiatic countries easily. Would you like to see the hated union jack and the two-headed eagle float over the fair country where is now waving the crescent of the Prophet. Hurry to her help and free her from the clutches of both these monsters! Your arms combined with that of Persia, fighting for **Right**, will be more than a match for the armies of Russia and England. Only join Persia with a pure heart and a sacred regard for duty and justice. For the robbers might not you with a morsel of fallen Persia. This is what England did regard to the princes of India. Buth the morsel might be yours o-day. For to-morrow England will take not merely that but even your own country from you into the bargain. That way for the last two centuries. Therefore beware of treating in them over the dead corpse of Persia.

In short, your independence as well as the prosperity of the rest of Asia demand that Persia, the land of Hafiz and Sadi, of Naushervean and Omar Khaygam should be saved from the hands of these robbers. Arm therefore, Sir, and show to the European world that Asia has not melery policy but generosity and a wider patriotism. Here is an opportunity to display your courage and your faith in Islam and your Asian patriotism. The world is waiting to know what your Majesty is going to do.

A Hero's words.

"In ordering you upon this mission, I feel as I should if I were sending my own beloved children to their certain death. Yet had I a hundred children, I could not but wish that they might all have the privilege of undertaking an errand so heroic. Had I but one child, I should yet pray that this one might be chosen to face death in the performance of a mission so glorious. You, my dear comrades, have been honoured with the being trusted to perform this great duty. I adjure you to work- to work though wounded and maimed to the very end. And above all, fail not in instant and strict obedience to the orders of those wo are set over you.

I do not ask you to sell your lives cheaply; I do not say that you will gain fame by sacrificing them needlessly; nor need I tell you that you must be prepared to fall in the interests of honour and duty. You will not shrink from death if duty demands that. I give you wine to take with you. You will not use it to fill your hearth with courage, but only and solely for the injured and wounded. You represent the men of the "Asama"; do not forget that it would be an exceeding disgrace were it said that they risked their lives only under the glow of excitement which wine gives. I long for the glorious moment when you may return to us. if the Almighty so decrees, after the successful fulfilment of your duty. Then shall we testify our joy by drinking to you in that same wine which you now take with you.

Go, therefore, dear and brave comrades, with perfect faith in the grace of Heaven and courageous submission to the will of God; go and with serene confidence discharge the great task now entrusted to you."

It is more than eight years since these words were spoken by Captain Yatsushiro to seamen who were about to be entrusted with the dangerous mission of blocking Port Arthur by means of old ships. But they are instinct with a fire and a spirit that remove them from the category of ordinary speeches and exalt them to the immortality of world moving sermons. It is therefore meet that we read and re-read them, study them deeply, meditate upon them for long hours, and make the ideas they contain part and parcel of our very being.

These great words were spoken when Japan was still on her trial for recognition as one of the powers of the world. She was playing a great game. She was fighting for life against the aggression of a power which had defied the first Napoleon and which was regarded with mortal fear in the beginning of this century by England, Germany, Austria and the United States. She had of course an alliance with England. But she knew the value of that alliance to the very pie. So she was practically alone in the midst of hostile and jealous nations and carrying on a war with a power with a great reputation and gigantic resources behind it. She therefore called up everything that was best in her and used it all without stint. Wealth, resources men, blood nothing was spared, none was attempted to be saved. They offered them all with the utmost devotion, (with a Rajput unconcern at the altar of Kâli). A son was worrying that he could not go to the front because there was no one else to support his aged mother. The mother at once felt that the fatherland demanded her to sacrifice herself in order to give her son the necessary freedom. She committed suicide after telling her son that he was now at liberty to go to the war and that he should conduct himself in a manner worthy of his fathers. For this very business of blocking the Port, Admiral Togo called for volunteers to man the vessels that were to be sunk at the entrance of the Port. Some seventy men were required to risk their lives in manning those vessels; but 2000 men sent in their applications and some men wrote their applications in their own blood! It was in the midst of this grand fête of heroism that the immortal words above quoted were spoken.

What lessons they teach us at this stage of our national revolution! Let every young son of Hindusthan ponder over every one of those sacred words. For our country stands in greater need of the prevalence of these sentiments than even Japan eight years ago. Our land is in the grip of an enemy who is in many respects superior to Russia. Our position on the contrary is weaker than that of Japan which had Independence, a national government that encouraged the moral growth of its citizens to the highest point that was possible. This handicap we have to meet by the intensity of our energies and determination. Nor need I tell you that you must be prepared to fall in the interests of your honour and duty. You will not shrink from death if duty demands that. "These shall be our Mantra. Let us repeat it till the readiness to fall in ihe interests of our country becomes an instinct with us. The fountain of our honour has been defiled and on our country's throne sits an enemy that despises us, that mocks at our fall, that oppresses us. If we are not prepared to die to bring back that lost honour to our country and make her free and independent, shall we not be less than men? He is not an Aryan who does not fight for his country's independence. He is not a son of Hindusthan who will even for a moment longer attend to his own or his family's affairs while the enemy is still master in our land. So Aryans and children of Bhâratmâta, rise, rise for your country, rise against the enemy! Right is on your side. Add strength, devotion, singleminded courage and Action, and Victory is yours. In war, in great affairs he who attempts to save his life loses it; but he who gives his life freely, he finds it. That is the great law of the world. So hesitate not. Offer your life as a willing sacrifice to the Mother even as the great martyrs of our country have done. If you die you get honour and the Virsvang. If you live you have the happiness in this very life of seeing your Mother free and the glory of having contributed even in the smallest degree towards Her freedom. So imbibe the heroism of the above words and falter not but Maro Firinghiko!

The Mahommedan Author of the Sêr Mutakharîn wrote in the beginning of the last century: "Such is the little regard which the English show to the people of this country, and such their apathy and indifference for their welfare that the people under their dominion groan everywhere and are reduced to poverty and distress. Oh God! come to the assistance of those afflicted servants and deliver them from the oppressions that they suffer!"

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The true-born Englishman.

Wherever God erects a house of prayer
The Devil always builds a chapel there;
And 'twill be found upon examination
The latter has the largest congregation;
For ever since he first debauch'd the mind
He made a perfect conquest of mankind.

. . . . . .

The Romans first with Julius Caesar came,
Including all the nations of that name,
Gauls, Greeks and Lombards, and, by computation,
Auxiliaries or slaves of ev'ry nation.
With Hengist, Saxons; Danes with Sweno came
In search of plunder, not in search of fame.
Scots, Picts and Irish from the Hibernian shore;
And conq'ring William brought the Normans o'er.

All these their barb'rous offspring left behind,
The dregs of armies, they of all mankind;
Blended with Britons who before were here,
Of whom the Welsh ha' blest the character.

From this amphibious, ill-born mob began
That vain, ill-natured thing, an Englishman.
The customs, sirnames, languages and manners
Of all these nations are their own explainers;
Whose relics are so lasting and so strong,
They've left a shibboleth upon our tongue;
By which, with easy search, you may distinguish
Your Roman, Saxon, Danish, Norman, English.

. . . . . .

These are the heroes that despise the Dutch,
And rail at new-come foreigners so much;
Forgetting that themselves are all derived
From the most scoundrel race that ever lived;
A horrid crowd of rambling thieves and drones
Who ransack'd kingdoms and dispeopled towns.
The Pict and painted Briton, treach'rous Scot,
By hunger, theft, and rapine hither brought;
Norwegian pirates, buccaneering Danes,
Whose red-haired offspring everywhere remains;
Who, joined with Norman-French, compound the breed
From whence your true-born Englishmen proceed.

And lest, by length of time, it be pretended
The climate may this modern breed have mended,
Wise Providence, to keep us where we are,
Mixes us daily with exceeding care.
We have been Europe's sink, the jakes, where she
Voids all her offal outcast progeny;
From our fifth Henry's time the strolling bands
Of banish'd fugitives from neighb'ring lands
Have here a certain sanctuary found:
The eternal refuge of the vagabond,
Where in but half a common age of time,
Borrowing new blood and manners from the clime,
Proudly they learn all mankind to contemn,
And all their race are true-born Englishmen.

Dutch Walloons, Flemings, Irishmen and Scots,
Vaudois, and Valtolins, and Huguenots,
In good Queen Bess's charitable reign,
Supplied us with three hundred thousand men;
Religion — God, we thank thee! — sent them hither,
Priests, Protestants, the Devil, and all together;
Of all professions, and of ev'ry trade,
All that were persecuted or afraid;
Whether for debt, or other crimes, they fled,
David at Hachelah was still their head.

The offspring of the miscellaneous crowd
Had not their new plantations long enjoy'd,
But they grew Englishmen, and raised their votes
At foreign shoals of interloping scots;
The royal branch from Pictland did succeed,
With troops of Scots and scabs from north of Tweed:
The seven first years of his pacific reign
Made him and half his nation Englishmen.
Scots from the northern frozen banks of Tay,
With packs and plods, came whigging all away,
Thick as the locusts which in Egypt swarm'd,
With pride and hungry hopes completely arm'd;
With native truth, diseases, and no money,
Plunder'd our Canaan ot the milk and honey;
Hence they grew quickly lords and gentlemen,
And all their race are true-born Englishmen.

„Justice", 15th June. DANIEL DEFOE.

Right can never arise out of wrong and illegal method.

BANDE MATARAM.

Savage Europe.

Passionate Parable by Pierre Loti.

In to-day's *Figaro*, Pierre Loti, the eminent French man of letters, publishes a passionate and embittered protest against the war in Tripoli. With wonderful literary skill he builds a terrible parable upon an incident that he witnessed one night in the African jungle—the sudden spring of a panther upon a buffalo. As in the jungle, so in North Africa. "The same suddenness; an assailant, alas, of equal agility and beauty; the same inequality in weapons the same heroic defence!

"And, as always, when human creatures are being massacred, Europe looks on, unconcerned. What a mockery they are, all these big, empty words— Progress, Pacificism, Conferences, Arbitration."

But Italy's offence is common to France and all the other Powers. His protest is against "all of us, the so-called Christian peoples of Europe. It is we who are always the greatest killers; we, who with the phrases of brotherhood on our lips go on inventing year by year new and more hellish explosives; who for mere purposes of plunder carry fire and sword into the ancient African and Asiatic world, and treat men of the brown and yellow races as mere cattle."

Christian Europe is the wild beast. "Everywhere we are engaged in destroying with our machine guns civilizations that differ from our own, and which we, not understanding, despise as less practical, less utilitarian, and less armed. And when we have done with killing, we bring into play our unbridled exploitation. We apply our chain gangs of workers, our huge factories, destructive of small individual industry, unrest, agitation, ugliness, drunkenness, greed and despair!"

Turning from Tripoli, where "poor, beautiful, and sleek" Italy has acted with the bloody savagery of the panther, Pierre Loti draws attention to the terrible spectacle of the nations, watching and waiting in a hungry circle, like so many hyaenas, to get their fangs into Turkey. In comparison Italy's action might even possess a certain savage nobility. Certain European Powers, he says, are clamouring for "compensations" from Turkey. "Great God," he exclaims, "compensation for what? What in the world has Turkey done to them. Verily, I prefer the panther in the jungle, which, at least, did not use any formulas."

DAILY NEWS,
4th January.

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